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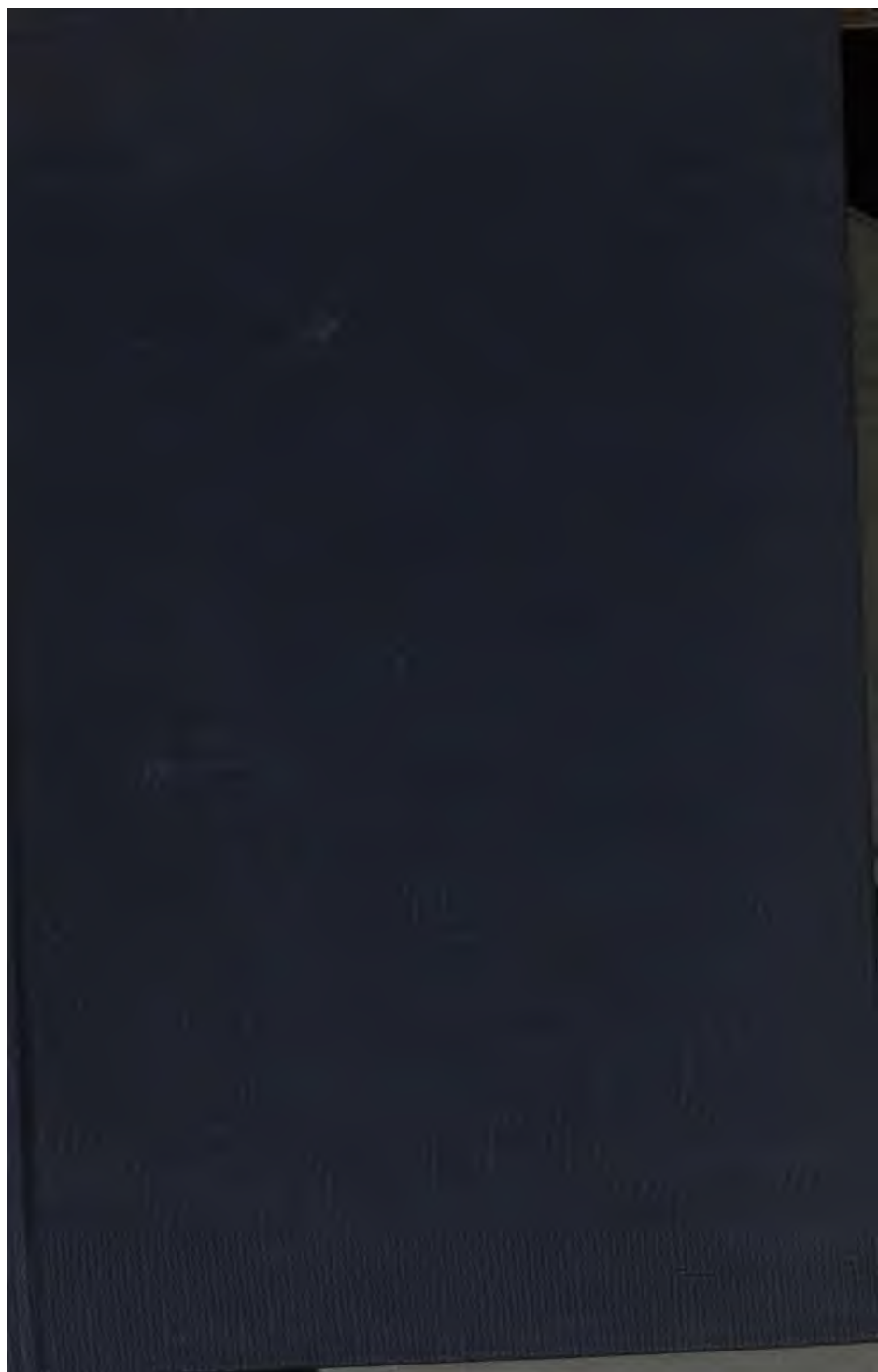
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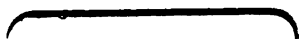
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**NORTH AND SOUTH.**

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# NORTH AND SOUTH.

BY

THE WHITE REPUBLICAN

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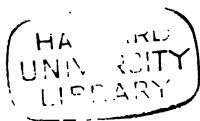
Hon. Chas. Francis Adams,

of London.

(H. C. 1825.)

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TO

THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY, INDEPENDENCE, AND PEACE,  
REGULATED AND PROTECTED BY CONSTITUTIONAL LAW;

TO

THE BRAVE DEFENDERS OF THESE "INALIENABLE RIGHTS,"  
BY TONGUE, OR PEN, OR SWORD AND

TO

THE HEROIC REBELS AGAINST FANATICISM, INTOLERANCE, AND  
TYRANNY, NORTH AND SOUTH, EAST AND WEST,

*This Volume of "Free Speech"*

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

*London, Jan. 1st, 1863.*



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# NORTH AND SOUTH.

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## THE CONTROVERSY IN A COLLOQUY.

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### PART I.

SCENE : *Washington.* TIME : *Before the Election.*

*North.* I'll bet ten thousand dollars that Abraham Lincoln will be the next President of the United States.

*South.* And I will bet twice ten thousand dollars that he will be *the last* !

*North.* What do you mean ?

*South.* I mean that in the event of the election of a sectional President, the Southern States will secede from the Union.

*North.* But we shall not let you go.

*South.* Then we shall go without your "letting."

*North.* Then we shall *force* you to come back.

*South.* You cannot force us. In the first

place, you have not the right ; and in the second place, you have not the power.

*North.* Nonsense ! As to the *right* of a State to secede from the Federal Union, I admit that it is a question about which people differ ; but as to the *power* to prevent it, why we can outnumber you five to one. Have you forgotten South Carolina's "nullification" threats in the days of President Jackson ; and how "Old Hickory's" by-the-eternal oath to hang the first man who dared to raise his hand in rebellion against the Union, brought the nullifiers to terms, and has kept them quiet for thirty years ?

*South.* And have you forgotten that your pet Massachusetts, which balances South Carolina in ultraism, sectionalism, or "State pride," has repeatedly threatened to retire from the Union in consequence of unpalatable legislation at Washington ? Would to heaven she had gone out and all New England with her. The remaining States might possibly have got on in harmony. The fact is, your New England Puritanism, or Pharisaism, is an incompatible element in the "body politic." Having seceded from Old England for the ostensible purpose of enjoying "religious toleration," you have always been, from the time of the landing of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth, in 1620, down to the present

time, the most intolerant and bigoted people on earth. You have burnt Quakers, hung Baptists, drowned witches, and slaughtered Indians, all in the name of religion—all for the sake of “liberty of conscience!” And now you are going to play the tyrant with the South, and give us a taste of your meddling, proselyting, persecuting spirit, the moment your sectional party comes into power. I tell you, very emphatically, we shall not submit to it.

*North.* You cannot help it. We have the power and the will to enforce it. You cannot scare us any longer with the bugbear of Secession. It is an old dodge of the “Fire-eaters” to frighten us into supporting the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. But it won’t do; the game is played out. Besides, with the radical split in the Democratic party—thanks to “Old Buck”—between the two candidates, Douglas and Breckenridge, “Old Abe” will walk over the course. So I will leave you until after the election, with the renewal of my offer—ten thousand dollars—that the Republican candidate, the honest Illinois Rail-Splitter, will be our next President.

*South.* *Union-Splitter*, you may say; for I repeat that, if elected, he will be the *last* President of these thirty-four United States.



## PART II.

SCENE : *New York.* TIME : *After the Election.*

*North.* Well, I told you so. We have won the victory. "Old Abe" is elected. We have got you now.

*South.* You have got more than you bargained for.

*North.* What do you mean ?

*South.* I mean that if you carry out your threats, you have got *war with your election*, and a war in which you will get the worst of it in the end.

*North.* Pooh ! pooh ! You might as well get off that high horse at once, and come down gracefully, like the coon to Captain Scott, without waiting to be fired at. All this gas and bluster before the election was only meant for political effect. Let us talk soberly now. Surely you can't deny that Lincoln is constitutionally elected, and, of course, there is nothing left but submission to the voice of the people. *Vox populi, vox Dei*, you know.

*South.* That blasphemous proverb is a lie ; and never more so than in the application you give it. Lincoln is *not* the choice of the American people. He is in the minority by a million

of votes. And had not Buchanan schemed for his own re-election, thereby breaking up the Democratic party, this Union-Splitter would not have been elected.

*North.* You admit, then, that he *is* elected according to law ; and that, when legally inaugurated on the 4th of March, he will be the Chief Magistrate of the United States, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and clothed with the highest Executive functions of the Government ?

*South.* I admit it.

*North.* And do you not also admit the duty of submission ?

*South.* No. And what is more, we will not submit. We regard your President and your party, not only as political but as personal enemies ; and despairing of having justice done us in the Legislative halls of Congress, we intend to take no further part in the administration of the Federal Government.

*North.* But we shall compel you.

*South.* What, compel us to remain in the Union against our will ! Compel us to send representatives to Washington, to sit in a helpless minority, the impotent witnesses of your hostile legislation ! Compel our senators to remain in the Chamber, listening to sectional

abuse, while powerless to check partisan patronage and political corruption! Why, the old proverb that tells us, we "cannot compel a horse to drink," should teach you a wiser philosophy than this compulsion doctrine; it is a direct violation of the first principle of Republicanism, which professes to derive all authority from the people. I do not believe the Government will be mad enough to attempt it.

*North.* No more do I believe that a single State in the Union will dare to secede. (*Noise in the street*)

*South.* What is all this rabble in Broadway, with music, banners, fireworks, and yells that "make night hideous?"

*North.* These are our glorious "Wide Awakes," celebrating the Lincoln victory. They are composed, mainly, of our noble firemen, target companies, trades unions, German turners, Irish associations, &c., &c. :—hard-fisted, rough-and-ready fellows, who can fight as well as vote. We are mainly indebted to them for yesterday's triumph; and they are all impatient for a march "away down South in Dixie," on the first overt act of Secession. (*Hisses from the crowd on the steps of the New York Hotel.*)—Charge! Wide Awakes, sack the hotel! Drive every d——d Southerner from the house! Hang the

proprietor who harbours them !—(*Police interfere ; the riot is quelled.*)

*South.* I see the violent and vindictive spirit of your people ; and if wiser counsels do not prevail at Washington, war between the North and South is inevitable ; and, to quote the words of Patrick Henry to the Virginian Legislature in the days of the Revolution, “Let it come.”

*North.* And come it will like a whirlwind, and sweep you all into the Gulf, unless you submit and become loyal to the incoming Administration. But we have no fear of civil war ; the contest would be too unequal. We have the money and the means to crush out every State south of “Mason and Dixon’s line,” even were they all united in a body against us. But that is not possible. I believe, notwithstanding all your threats of Secession, that the Union feeling *in* the South is quite strong enough to keep the South *in* the Union ; and that such fire-eaters and demagogues as Davis, Yancey, Slidell, and Benjamin would be in danger of their lives among their own constituents were they to make the first move for the dissolution of the Union.

*South.* How little you know us ! The demagogues, as you designate our political leaders,

are slower than the people who are urging them on. For more than thirty years, under the adverse legislation of the Federal Congress, and the malignant misrepresentations of your Anti-slavery pulpit and press, the people of the South have been morally preparing for the inevitable separation ; and we have now an entire generation thoroughly convinced of the necessity, and thoroughly educated for the conflict it may cost. The movement springs from conviction, not from caprice ; and so you will find it, should the new Administration be so blind as to adopt the policy of coercion.

*North.* But pray what is your grievance ! How and where does the Union hurt you ?

*South.* It would take a volume to answer these questions. But I will give the burthen of our complaint in few words. The interests of the North and South are incompatible—antagonistic ; and mutual harmony and happiness depend on mutual interest. There can be no profitable or lasting union between parties, where all the benefits of the partnership are on one side. The Federal Union is now composed of Free and Slave States ; and I do not believe that they can possibly get on together peacefully ; not so much in consequence of your anti-slavery sentiment, as of your anti-Southern

legislation. As for the abolitionism of the North, we regard it simply as hypocrisy—a mere excuse for political and social hostility. It is comparatively but a few years since all the Northern States tolerated slavery, and only abolished it because it did not pay ; and as for the Slave Trade, which the South does *not* approve, there is scarcely a port in the North that is not now, directly or indirectly, engaged in it. Many of your richest merchants of Boston, Providence, Newport, and New York laid the foundations of their fortune by importing “live stock.” New England and Old England combined to sow the South with the seed of Africa ; and now they lift up their hands in holy horror at the black harvest. O ye hypocrites ! But this is not our greatest grievance. The Abolitionists annoy us by their buzzing ; and now and then steal a thousand dollars from our pockets by seducing a negro from a comfortable “situation for life,” into the “land of liberty,” to freeze or starve. Both the nuisance and the theft are trifling in comparison with the injury inflicted by Federal legislation ; and the moment the Free States numbered a majority, our condition became hopeless. We might as well be without representation at Washington, as to go there merely to encounter an inexorable

majority in favour of protective tariffs, and other measures designed to rob the South and enrich the North. When the colonies separated from the "Mother country," taxation without representation was the sole cause of complaint. And what did the taxation imposed by Great Britain amount to in comparison with the clippings of your Morrill Tariffs? Why, every bale of cotton we ship to Europe is clipt thirteen times by bankers, brokers, and "agents," before it reaches the consumer; and the manufactured products which we get in return are taxed all the way back to us. And yet you expect to go on shearing us like sheep, who must neither bleat nor kick! I tell you the Union has become the synonym of oppression; the Stars and Stripes the ensign of tyranny. We have deliberately resolved to throw off the yoke, and to establish our independence.

*North.* You will find it hard to kick against the pricks. We have ten bayonets to your one. Besides, there are four millions of slaves to rise up under your feet, and glut their thirst for vengeance; while England and all Europe would join us, if need be, in putting down the rebellion. Think twice before you rush to swift destruction.

*South.* Our slaves will rise to fight for us, not

against us. The interest of England will override her sentiment. She will have our cotton in spite of Exeter-hall. She has £70,000,000 invested in three thousand cotton mills ; giving employment to 500,000 persons, enriching 100,000 "cotton lords." For the last five years our crop has averaged above 3,650,000 bales, and these bales freight Northern ships and supply English mills. The destruction of one year's cotton crop will cause a famine in Europe. As for thinking twice, we have already done it, and are now quite beyond it. Our people have counted the cost before going into this warfare, and they are determined to stake everything upon the issue. In the meantime, we do not believe the Federal Government will ever attempt to carry your threat of coercion into execution. He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword. We do not intend to commit any act of aggression. All we ask is to be let alone ; to retire in peace ; and to establish friendly relations with the North. People may be friends who cannot agree as partners in business. Men and women may live on good terms with one another, who could not endure to be yoked together by the bonds of matrimony. When the bee-hive is too full, the bees "swarm ;" when



families are too large, they divide and colonise ; and when Republics spread too far and involve incongruous elements and opposing interests, they break to pieces. If we do not separate now, we must hereafter. If 30,000,000 cannot live together in peace, surely 100,000,000 could not ; and this will be the census of the United States before the year 1900, if the ratio of increase continues. Do you suppose the Government of England could last a year, Conservative and excellent as it is, if her 200,000,000 of subjects were all compacted on one continent, or even on one hemisphere ? It is only the balancing of remote colonies that keeps the machinery of the British Government in harmonious operation. But even this system of political adjustments and compensations could not stand the collision of Freedom and Slavery—that “irrepressible conflict,” which sooner or later must result in the dissolution of the American Union.

*North.* In answer to all this we say in the words of Jackson, “the Union must and shall be preserved ;” and if “Old Hickory” had hung John C. Calhoun, an omission of duty which he regretted on his death-bed, we should not have heard a whisper of Secession, during the present century, at least.

*South.* Is not this very conversation a proof conclusive that we never can agree? Is it better to keep up an eternal wrangle *in* the Union, than to live in peace *out* of the Union? With such incompatible opinions, tempers, and interests, is it not wiser to separate than to remain tied only to quarrel?

*North.* It is our interest to hold on to you, and we will not let you go.

*South.* Thank you for the honest confession. It is indeed for your interest to tax us, to subordinate us. But we WILL GO.


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### PART III.

SCENE: *Washington.* TIME: *During the War.*

*North (solus).* It was a mistake not to evacuate Fort Sumter. It was a mistake not to listen to the Commissioners of the South. The difficulty might have been settled. But it is too late now. We are in for it. Governments must never repent. We take no steps backward. The alarm for the safety of Washington, and the appeal to the patriotism of the people to avenge the insult to the flag, have produced the desired effect. The 75,000 men, called for by the Pre-

sident, have come with great alacrity to defend the capital; the war will be popular. No Northern politician will dare oppose it. It will give employment to hundreds of thousands of voters who make Presidents, and it will enable partisan speculators to make fortunes. We shall have an easy victory over the South, while making military titles by thousands, and dispensing money by hundreds of millions. If there should be any hard fighting, which we doubt, we will push the vagabond democracy, consisting mostly of German and Irish emigrants, into the front ranks, and thus get rid of our political enemies and paupers while thinning the lines of our Secession adversaries. This will be killing at least two birds with one stone. And then the epaulettes we will put upon the shoulders of our Republican friends, while the knapsacks are strapped to the backs of the democrats. Oh, isn't it capital, a sort of "poetic justice" that must delight the gods! Never before did a party come into power with so glorious an opportunity of rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies. We will conciliate our shipping merchants by purchasing their ships; our manufacturers by increasing tariffs; and our farmers and butchers by unlimited contracts for grain, and whisky, and



beef. If any Northern sympathiser with the South dares to speak, we will send him to prison ; and if any journalist utters a voice for peace, we will silence his press, and him too. It is true, the President has no right to declare war, nor to move the military from one State to another ; but necessity knows no law ; and the Constitution must give way to the emergency. Neither has the President the right to arrest and imprison citizens without due process of law ; but never mind that, the people will sustain him ; and as every friend of the South must be a traitor, Fort Lafayette is the best place for him. The war is popular with the masses ; all wars are ; and woe to him who presumes to oppose the cataract of Avernus. Our three living ex-Presidents, Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan, who have always been specially friendly to the South, will keep discreetly quiet ; while such orators as Everett, Cushing, and Dickinson, the distinguished champions of Southern rights and interests, will chime in with the music of the masses, and sing peans to the glorious Union ; although Mr. Everett did say a few months ago that, "if the South was determined to go, in God's name let her go in peace." Charles O'Coner, the logician, and James S. Thayer, the rhetorician of the

Conservatives, will maintain a dignified and indignant silence ; Fernando Wood will subside during the storm ; the "New York Herald" can be bought ; and the "New York News" can be suppressed. The Border States can be kept down by the bayonet, until the Cotton States are whipped back into the Union. We shall blockade every Southern port, and no foreign Power will dare to interfere. All looks well. The taking of Fort Sumter has thoroughly aroused the North. The city of Charleston shall be burnt, and sown with salt, and its harbour shall be destroyed for ever. South Carolina, first in the Secession movement, shall be the first to suffer, the last to be forgiven.

*South (solus).* The North is mad. The war is begun. We are eleven States against twenty-three ; ten millions against twenty millions ; and a third, at least, of our population slaves. So much the better ; they can take care of the crops while we take care of the enemy. The North has the advantage of us in numbers, and in munitions of war. But we are strong in the unity of our people, and in the justice of our cause. The favour of the God of Battles must ever be with those who are acting in self-defence—fighting for their families and their homes—for their lives and their liberties.

Our people have an absolute belief in the right of Secession ; and the formidable preparation to force us back into the Union has not only weaned us from all attachment to the North, but converted every man, woman, and child of the South into a bitter, persistent, and conscientious enemy. We have hitherto counted on friends in the North, who, by their votes in Congress, by public speeches, newspaper articles, and personal assurances, have led us to believe that they were " friends indeed," who would be " friends in need ;" but, with here and there an exception, we do not hear from them now, except in the ranks of our adversaries. Some have been frightened, or bribed into silence ; and others have been bought by military or diplomatic " honours and emoluments." The rare and honourable instances of Northern men who have remained true to their life-long professions, sacrificing everything to the integrity of their principles, reminding us of the fidelity of that Miltonic hero, who—

Faithful among the faithless stood,  
Faithful only he—

we shall remember more befittingly hereafter. There will ever be a place for them, and for their children's children, in the warm heart of


the South in the better days that are coming. The eleven States now constituting our new Confederacy have seceded *pro formâ* and for ever. Each State in formal convention has solemnly declared the deliberate will of the people. We have sent Commissioners to Washington to propose an equitable settlement of the affairs of the late partnership. We were willing to assume our proportion of the Federal liabilities, and to account for the Federal property then in our possession. Our Commissioners, like those sent to King George before the Declaration of Independence, to quote the language of that day, "were spurned from the foot of the throne." We are charged with stealing Federal property, which belonged to us as much as to the North. Our people keenly feel the insult; and they will fight to the death. We have well-trained generals; and, if fewer men, better soldiers than the North. They will blockade our ports, but not so stringently that it will not be now and then broken; and, if European diplomatists stick to the letter of international law, they will not respect a blockade unless it is "effective." President Davis and Vice-President Stephens have the fullest confidence of the people; and they have called to their aid a Cabinet of

patriotic and practical men. Beauregard, Lee, Johnston, Jackson, and Magruder, are brave and skilful officers, who know how to train men, and how to handle them. The clergy are with us ; the women are with us ; and we go into the conflict sustained by a sense of duty and a feeling of solemn joy.

*North.* This Bull Run defeat is a "stunner." We must have more men. The road to Richmond is not so easy to travel as we imagined. The South has managed to scrape together a larger army than we expected ; and they fight like devils. It is a wonder they did not follow our retreating troops into Washington ; they could have taken the capital without resistance ; the panic was so great that our army would not have stopped running before they reached Philadelphia, had the "Black Horse Cavalry" with a bugle kept on chasing them. This confession is humiliating ; but we have made the foolish and fatal mistake of underrating the enemy. The lesson will do us good. M'Dowell will not be caught napping a second time. Another month for the army to recuperate, and we'll be in Richmond. Curse the "New York Tribune," that kept urging us "on to Richmond ;" and telling us the day *before* the battle the South had not 30,000 men under



arms, and the day *after* the *run* that it had 110,000 soldiers at Manassas! These newspapers must publish no more war news without permission of the Secretary of War; and, by the way, Cameron must leave the Cabinet. He is giving out contracts to his friends and relatives by *hundreds of millions*. We must get rid of him. But we can't afford to lose his influence. He has too many friends in Pennsylvania. Let us reward him for his "patriotism" by the Mission to Russia—and 19,000 dollars a year. Stanton will be more economical, if less yielding. Scott also must be sacrificed as General-in-Chief of the army. The impatient masses, at the malignant dictation of the "Tribune," attribute to "Old Fuss and Feathers" the defeat at Manassas, and the delay in getting to Richmond. It is a delicate business; but a flattering speech from the President, complimentary resolutions from Congress, and a "roving Commission" to Europe, with Thurlow Weed to write a few letters for him to the newspapers, will save the *amour propre* of the veteran generalissimo; while "Young Napoleon M'Clellan" will galvanise the "Boa Constrictor" stratagem into new activity, and crush out the rebellion "before next frost." All right. The Bull Run mishap



has woke us up, and done us good. Call out 500,000 more men ; issue a few hundred millions more of Government paper, and the job will be finished. By the way, England and France have recognised the South as belligerents. This is an insult. But it will keep.

*South.* Heavy work. Thus far our victories over the enemy have rather served to strengthen him, and to weaken us. We are feeling too secure, too confident. A defeat or two would prove a tonic to the South. No doubt we shall have them, for such is the fortune of war, but in the end we shall triumph. In the meantime, it is sad to contrast the *calibre*, or quality of the two armies. Our ranks are filled with gentlemen ; with men who own the soil they are defending ; the ranks of the enemy are more than two-thirds made up of hireling foreigners. It is said that Colonel " Billy Wilson," formerly an " emigrant runner," afterwards a New York alderman, made a speech to his regiment of " gaol-birds," on leaving home for Pensacola, of which the following is a verbatim report :—" Feller sogers ! we are going to subdergate the South, and then to confistigate their property. We belong to the Angola Saxony race, which can't be beat, by —— !" This gallant regiment afterwards mutinied because

their trousers were not provided with pockets for the watches which they expected to steal from the corpses of Southern gentlemen! Is it any wonder that we are growing desperate? The marvel is, that the "black flag" has not long since been adopted.

*North.* More men and more money. Over 700,000 soldiers in the field, or rather on the muster rolls—the largest army in the world. We have only to move, and Richmond is ours. The arch-traitor Davis must be already preparing for a flight into Texas; but Curtis will be there to catch him.

*South.* Yancey returns from England disappointed at the giving up of the "Trent" prisoners. He says there is no hope at present from abroad. The battle-field is our only field of diplomacy. Vessels are constantly being fitted out from London and Liverpool with arms and munitions of war: some will get in, others will be caught, and we must trust entirely to our own resources. There are plenty of English speculators who will hazard the blockade in the hope of large profits, especially since the underwriters at "Lloyds" will take the war risks at fifteen per cent. on the vessel and cargo. These men make loud professions of their friendship for us, whereas they are simply


taking advantage of our necessities to get exorbitant prices for their goods. It is a selfish world we live in, and much of what passes for patriotism and philanthropy has its mainspring in the pocket.

*North.* A glorious victory in the South-west ! We have beaten the rascally rebels at Corinth and taken ten thousand prisoners. A few days more and the job is done. True, our losses are large ; but like the pilgrims at Plymouth, we must conceal the graves of our dead, lest the savages learn our weakness. Send off the reporters.

*South.* The Yankees will long remember Corinth, or Shilo, where not less than twenty thousand of them were counted among the dead, wounded, and missing. Beauregard's masterly retreat, or rather removal of his great army, is one of the grandest military exploits of the war. After gaining an unequivocal victory over superior numbers, he suddenly

Folds up his tents like the Arabs,  
And as silently steals away.

This adroit movement on the part of the Wellington of the South sorely puzzles and baffles the North. They know not where he will "uncover" next. His command is a sort of



locomotive "masked battery,"—a mode of "surprise" particularly annoying to the enemy. Halleck's petulant "order," suppressing the letter-writers, shows that he is afraid of the truth. But the facts will leak out. The dead will all be counted by eyes watching for them at home, and the sergeants will know who do *not* answer to the roll-call. We have lost thousands on the battle-field of Shiloh; but our officers are more proud than ashamed of the sacrifice. They conceal nothing in their official reports. Regiments that went into the fight a thousand strong glory in having left half their number "dead on the field of honour!" Such competition for posts of danger was never before seen; and the last words of many a dying soldier of the South, whispered in his comrade's ear, are, "I die for my country, and I die contented. Bury me on the field, boys!" Heroes like these never die in vain; and we all feel that the cause is worthy of the martyrs, and the martyrs worthy of the cause. Never were a people so loyal to their country, and yet our enemies denounce us as traitors!

*North.* Another glorious victory—most glorious of all! New Orleans, the great commercial capital of the South, the proud and boastful

“Crescent City,” with her 150,000 inhabitants, is ours ; and the Stars and Stripes again float triumphantly from the flagstaff of the Custom-house. We have now the control of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth—with the exception of Vicksburg, a nut easily cracked—and, with the reduction of Richmond and Charleston, soon to be achieved, this great and wicked rebellion will be ended. Before the coming anniversary of the ever-glorious Fourth of July—never so glorious as we shall make it in this eventful year of 1862, by the commemoration of a series of brilliant Union victories—the South will succumb, and Jeff. Davis will be on his knees at the White House, begging for mercy. We mean to give him justice instead. With the rebellion “crushed out,” we shall then take Canada and Cuba, which will about indemnify us for the costs of the war. If these acquisitions are not sufficient, we will have a slice of Mexico, on which our cunning Minister, Corwin, has already negotiated a mortgage. The fact is, we are a great people ; and ours is a great and growing country. What is there on the face of the earth to compare with the Mississippi River, the Alleghany Mountains, Niagara Falls, the Mammoth Cave, the enterprise of the New York press, or the

Grand Army of the Potomac, with the Young Napoleon at its head! Hip, hip, hurrah, for Old Abe, General M'Clellan, and the American eagle!

*South.* The North is hilarious over the fall of New Orleans, a bloodless and a bootless victory. The city might have been saved, but it was not; and we leave the investigation to the Court already summoned at Richmond for the trial of General Lovell. In a military point of view the loss of the city is a gain to the Southern army, while the tyrannical and infamous conduct of the Federal General Butler has added a hundred thousand volunteers to our ranks, besides exciting the indignant sympathy of all Europe in behalf of the insulted and outraged ladies of New Orleans, who are treated as "women of the town plying their vocation," simply because they could not entirely disguise the honest hatred they felt for the invaders! Did these Yankee hordes who have waded two thousand miles through the blood of our citizens expect to be received with smiles of welcome by the widows and orphans of their victims—by the mothers and wives whose gallant sons and husbands they had slain? Rather let us "welcome them with bloody hands to hospitable graves."

We pity New Orleans; the heel of the oppressor is on her neck; but the day of vengeance and of redemption draws near. The Confederate army now consists of 500,000 men, "whose bosoms are one." Never were a people so united, so determined, so confident in the justice, and the ultimate triumph of their cause. The loss of New Orleans, Nashville, and Memphis neither discourages nor weakens us; on the contrary, it liberates an army more needed elsewhere, while it occupies 50,000 Federals in "garrison duty." A few more such victories will ruin our adversaries.

*North.* A great battle near Richmond, with heavy loss on both sides, followed by a masterly "strategic movement" by M'Clellan, who has retired to a more safe and healthy position on the banks of the James River, under the protection of the gun-boats. Richmond is not quite taken, although it is nearer being taken than it was, in point of time, before our army retired thirty miles back! This is good enough logic for the masses, and will serve to keep their spirits up and bring out the 300,000 fresh volunteers which the President thinks are now wanted to finish what he calls "the big job." The fact is, we have again been deceived by the



lying newspapers, and while counting on an easy victory, we have been outnumbered two to one, and out-generalled by still greater odds. This seven days' fight has been fearful, and M'Clellan's army is reduced since landing on the Peninsula from 110,000 men to 55,000. Probably full one half of the loss is caused by the fevers of the marshes. But the public must not know the extent of the mortality, as drumming for recruits already is like calling "spirits from the vasty deep." The question is, Will they come? The Northern cities have been well skimmed of their scum; we must try and see what "bounties" will do; appeal to the poor man's pocket, if we cannot fetch him by "patriotism." But then, if we offer a premium of a hundred dollars to each recruit, the aggregate cost of enlistment, without equipment, of 300,000 men is 30,000,000 of dollars more to be added to the war debt. However, this is but a trifle in comparison with the grand total; and Mr. Secretary Chase's steam paper-mill is running night and day. We have already contracted the magnificent debt of 1,600,000,000 of dollars since the beginning of the war, about eighteen months ago, and we can afford to owe it. Why should England have a larger debt than the United States? Are we not a greater

country than England, and have we not always been told that the debt of Great Britain has consolidated and conserved the Government of Great Britain? The American people do not mean to be outdone in anything, neither in the magnitude of their territory, their army, nor their indebtedness. They like to look at "big figures," and if they "burst up" or repudiate their liabilities, they will do it on the grandest scale the world has ever witnessed. Is it not considered more respectable in Wall-street to fail for a million dollars than a thousand? It is an old proverb that "one might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb." But this is a digression. We need not begin to bother our heads about payment yet. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof; and this discomfiture of McClellan is the most disastrous event that has occurred during the war. Our poor President is in a state of sad tribulation, and flies for counsel and consolation to the veteran General on the Hudson, and to the verdant General on the James. "More men" is the universal demand, and bounties are piled on bounties. Congress offers a premium, the States offer premiums, and the cities offer premiums—a triple bribe for men to volunteer for the salvation of the Union already destroyed, the saving

of a vessel already broken! Such is really the melancholy state of the case, but the masses must not know it. We begin to be conscious of fatal mistakes, but it will never do to confess our errors. The King can do no wrong. The people must believe in the infallibility of the Government. The moment they begin to think and to criticise the management of affairs at Washington, there is no predicting what may happen. Already there are divisions in the North, and symptoms of reaction by no means agreeable to the official champions of the war. The democratic party is reorganising for the local elections, and the issue they mean to make will place the Lincoln Administration on the defensive. The origin and conduct of the war will be discussed by every stump orator of the North, and the complaints of the democracy will be loud and deep; and more than all, the Abolitionists are splitting the North as they have split the Union. The President, in his pathetic appeal to the Border States, complains that "they are crowding him," and begs that the pressure may be relieved by emancipation of the slaves at a liberal compensation; to which the Border States representatives in Congress reply by the following stubborn facts. According to the census of 1860:—

Kentucky had . . . . .	225,490 slaves.
Maryland . . . . .	87,188 „
Virginia . . . . .	490,887 „
Delaware . . . . .	11,798 „
Missouri . . . . .	14,965 „
Tennessee . . . . .	275,784 „
<hr/>	
Making in the whole . . . . .	1,106,112 „
At the usual rate of valuation these	
would amount to . . . . .	\$358,833,600
Add for deportation and colonisation	
\$100 each . . . . .	119,244,533
<hr/>	
And we have the enormous sum of . . .	\$478,078,133

But should Congress, in accordance with the President's suggestion, appropriate 500,000,000 of dollars to purchase the slaves in the above named States, and send them all off to "some-where" in South America, as Mr. Lincoln proposes, it does not follow that we should be able to prevent the Border States from joining the Southern Confederacy, to which already they more than half belong; while the balance is only kept in the Union by the force of Federal bayonets. Besides, the North would never consent to be taxed for such an object. Even the most zealous of the Abolitionists have never shown the disposition to make any very great pecuniary sacrifices for the sake of their "coloured brethren." On the contrary, they

have made merchandise of their "philanthropy," and used the negro hobby to ride into political power and notoriety. Difficulties increase as we progress, or rather as we retreat, and everybody feels that there are breakers ahead; while the pilot, who seems to be a little shaky, is evidently "perplexed in the extreme."

*South.* A solemn joy, too deep for utterance, pulses throughout the entire Confederacy, as the electric news flashes from city to city. Men's eyes moisten with emotion as they silently grasp each other's hands, while all hearts swell with feelings of devout thankfulness for the great victory we have won. Women cry for joy, rather than grief, whose dear ones lie cold upon the field of death, waiting an indiscriminate burial, heroes without tombs, and only their country for their monument. President Davis's eloquent "Proclamation" gives fittest expression to the gratitude beaming from every eye, and quivering on every lip. Brief, earnest, patriotic, and devout, the London "Times" has said well, that it is a manifesto of which no writer of the English language need feel ashamed :—

SOLDIERS,—I congratulate you on the series of brilliant victories which under favour of Divine Providence you

have lately won ; and as the President of the Confederate States I do hereby tender you the thanks of the country whose just cause you have so skilfully and heroically saved. Ten days ago an invading army, vastly superior to you in numbers and materials of war, closely beleaguered your capital, and vauntingly proclaimed its speedy conquest. You marched to attack the enemy in his entrenchments. With well-directed movements and death-daring valour you charged upon him in his strong position, drove him from field to field over a distance of more than thirty-five miles, and, spite of his reinforcements, compelled him to seek shelter under cover of his gunboats, where he now lies, cowering before the army he so lately derided and threatened with entire subjugation. The fortitude with which you have borne the trials and privations, the gallantry with which you have entered into each successive battle, must have been witnessed to be fully appreciated ; but a grateful people will not fail to recognise your deeds and bear you in loved remembrance. Well may it be said of you, that you have done enough for glory ; but duty to a suffering country and to the cause of constitutional liberty claims from you yet further efforts. Let it be your pride to relax in nothing which can promote your own future efficiency ; your own great object being to drive the invaders from your soil, carrying your standard beyond the outward boundaries of the Confederacy, to wring from an unscrupulous foe the recognition which is the birthright of every independent community.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The aggregate loss of life in this memorable week of victories will probably never be accurately known until the final resurrection, when that awful "aceldama" shall give up its dead ; but we believe 35,000 Federals and 20,000

Confederates is an estimate as near the truth as the future historian of the war will ever be able to come. Enough of slaughter, one would think, to glut the vengeance of the combatants, and sicken the heart of the world. But even the most painful uncertainty in regard to the number and the names of the dead, cannot repress the joyous demonstrations of our jubilant people. The bonfires and illuminations of Richmond, now no longer menaced by hordes of invaders, gleam triumphantly upon the broken lines of the flying foe far away beyond the banks of the Chickahominy. The material "spoils" of the victory are immense, but these we do not stop to calculate. The moral effect of M'Clellan's defeat will hasten the recognition of the Confederacy, and thus virtually end the war. Our people are more than ever united, and therefore more than ever unconquerable. We have great wrongs to avenge ; but let us remember mercy, and not vengeance, in the day of our triumph. The inhuman outrages of such brutes as Butler, and such fiends as Turchin, have excited the protectors and defenders of our wives and daughters to a fearful pitch of exasperation ; and the honest wrath of a gallant people will not easily be restrained. But the day of legal as well as righteous retribution is coming, and

we have a Government that will not wait for the mob to administer justice. Be assured we shall make no peace with our enemies so long as that vilest of villains, who "shuts his eyes for two hours," while his beastly ruffians riot in rape and rapine, remains unhung. The cries of the innocent school-girls of Athens will bring to our aid the intervention of heaven. There are crimes which God alone has power to punish ; and there are devils incarnate for whom nothing less than the burning torments of an eternal hell can satisfy the divine idea of justice.

*North.* A feeling of despondency and uneasiness is spreading among the masses. For the first time since 1776, the celebration of the 4th of July dragged. There seemed to be no elasticity in the crowds, no heartiness in the "salutes," no ring in the huzzas, no soul in the fireworks, and no life in the sky-rockets. Everything fell flat, amid the general gloom cast over the North by M'Clellan's defeat—M'Clellan, of whom everything was promised, and everything expected. What resemblance his admirers can now discover between the "Young Napoleon" and the Great Napoleon, we really cannot conceive, except that both have had their "Waterloo,"—with this difference : the one found it in his first battle, the other in his last.



The Orleans Princes have suddenly left us, and returned to Europe ; so much the better for them and for our cause. Pleasant and brave young fellows enough ; but the presence of royalty, petted and promoted, has only excited feelings of jealousy in our democratic ranks ; and the Emperor of the French is not likely to regard us with more friendly eyes while "the seed of Banquo" is flourishing in our midst. "A pleasant trip home," shout the disrespectful Democracy, "to Mr. Paris and Mr. Chartres !" The South is terribly indignant against the Princes, insisting that they had no business here, except as lookers-on, like other military gentlemen from various parts of Europe, who are practically studying "the art of war" on both sides, for the same reason that we sent officers to the Crimea. Certain it is, they have done us no good, and made themselves hosts of Confederate and other enemies. It is supposed, however, they had an ulterior object in view, in volunteering to "flesh their maiden swords" in the cause of the Union ; and that assurances were held out to them of both pecuniary and military aid in the day when the House of Orleans shall strike to recover the throne of France ! But there is too much Napoleonism lingering among our people to permit the

Government ever to take side with the Princes against the "usurper."

The following hint from the "New York Times" may prove an eye-opener to the Emperor :—

The complications growing out of the attempts of European Powers to interfere in the affairs of this continent are looming up in tremendous proportions. Napoleon III. now stands in the foreground, but in the background other potentates are plainly visible. The Orleans Princes, too, are just entering upon the scene, and their sudden departure from the army of the Potomac for Europe may, we believe, be fully accounted for. As Napoleon advances in his Mexican schemes, Bonaparte stock falls and *Orleans stock rises*. If England dreads Louis Napoleon more than she does a reconstructed and powerful American Union, we may yet see England and the United States indirectly co-operating with the Orleans party *to overthrow the French Emperor*, and the logical consequence of this must be to render both England and France the friends of the North, and disposed to sustain the unity of the Republic.

Absurd as these threatenings sound, they may be taken as indications of the future programme of the North.

*South.* A great change has come over the spirit of the North. The smoke of the late battles hangs heavily over them like a gloomy cloud ; while the most rabid and warlike of their journals and speakers begin to utter notes of

hopeless despondency, giving "signs of woe that all is lost." The "New York Times" the organ of Mr. Seward, thus expresses the prevailing feeling of the Government and the people :—

In spite of all well-meant endeavours to conceal the fact, a profound gloom has settled upon the public mind in regard to the conduct and prospects of the pending war. The great mass of the people are discouraged and disheartened. . . . . They have poured out their treasure and their blood like water ; and they do not see the fruits they were promised for such sacrifices. They have given their confidence without stint to the men who wielded the weapons they had placed in their hands—and they do not find that confidence justified by success. They have waited patiently week after week, month after month, through the slow revolving seasons of a whole year, for victories, brilliant and decisive, promised them from day to day ; and though every home mourns its dead, and every heart grieves for friends who will return no more for ever, the victories are yet delayed, and seem, indeed, further off than when the war began.

President Lincoln, on visiting M'Clellan's lines ten days after the retreat from Richmond, finds 70,000 men missing ! He is consoled, however, by the assurance that "probably not more than half of this number are among the killed and wounded ;" the rest "may possibly turn up *somewhere !*" Thousands of the better class of men in the North, whose latent sympathies with

the South have been repressed by Federal force, and the fear of federal prisons, are beginning to make themselves heard and felt. From the commencement of the war they have been in favour of peaceable separation as the only possible solution of the difficulty; and the recent triumph of our arms gives force to their early predictions of the ultimate triumph of our cause. The North has never been an "unit" in this unholy war; and the recent Confiscation and Emancipation Acts of the Federal Congress have only widened their divisions and weakened their armies. The barbarous attempt to enlist the slaves to fight against their masters has disgusted the better portion of the Northern army; and even the employment of "contrabands" as menials in the service is offensive to the lowest privates in the ranks. Upon this point, we have conclusive proof in the following extract from a letter in the "National Intelligencer," written by an officer in M'Clellan's army:—

The question as to the social position of the negroes being equal to ours is nonsense, and the effort to elevate them into soldiers by our side tends to disgust the troops; and the moment we have negro troops to use in the field, good-bye to a white army, and good-bye to the institutions we are fighting for. *Our people will not work by the*

*side of the negro.* Even when the two races are united as teamsters in the same train, the white man revolts. He gets sick of the negro and of the authority which puts him by the side of his inferior, and he gives up.

The Emancipation Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln excites more laughter than alarm among us. A strange fallacy these Northern Abolitionists have that our slaves are our enemies, who wish to be free, even at the cost of cutting our throats! On the contrary, they are our very best friends, and have proved their attachment in the day of need by taking unusual care of the crops, and of our defenceless women and children. Instead of a disposition to harm us, they are willing to lay down their lives in our service ; and such as can be spared from the work of the plantation beg permission to go and help us "drive off the Yankees," whom they regard as detestable crows in their corn-field. A proclamation from Washington declaring the slaves to be free, would have no more effect than a similar proclamation from Queen Victoria. The North, and Europe too, will get new and truer views of the "peculiar institution" by the effects of the war upon the relations existing between the slaves and their masters. Our four millions of African servants have been our only friends during this unequal

contest. They have not only worked with extraordinary energy in cultivating the land, but have been our faithful allies on the field of battle ; and, better still, they spurn the hollow bribe of "freedom" by which our heartless enemies have endeavoured to incite them to rise and massacre their masters ! The South will never forget the fidelity of her coloured children ; and in sickness and age she will nurse them all the more tenderly and gratefully for their increased devotion to our persons and to our interests in the day of trial and of temptation.

*North.* We have been deceived. There is absolute unity, but no *Unionism*, in the South. Had we known this fact eighteen months ago, there would have been no war. Either we should have conciliated the South by conceding to their demand of "equal rights in the territories," or we should have let the seceding States go without a blow. It is a bad business. We have made irreconcilable enemies of our neighbours ; and thereby lost our best customers. What will our manufacturers do for cotton ; and where will they find a market for their manufactured goods ? And then this mountain of debt will hang like a millstone upon the neck of the North for generations to come, unless we

cut loose by repudiation, and let the loss fall on the holders of Government *insecurities*. As a large portion of this "inconvertible paper" is in the hands of conscienceless "contractors," the people will be less scrupulous in adopting this summary mode of "liquidation." Besides, our Western farmers never can and never will pay their *quota* of the war debt. Already the approaching visit of the tax-collector is dreaded like a plague; and the Democratic party is beginning to mutter angrily against the "Republicans" who caused the war, and who alone ought to pay for the war. Paper money has fallen twenty per cent. below the specie standard; and is likely to become as worthless as the old "Continental currency" that ultimately went in the "rag-bag" back to the paper-mills. What shall we do? Who will advise us how to get honourably out of the difficulty? It is time for the Government, as well as for the army, to begin to think of a "strategic retreat!" Perhaps the European Powers will lend us the aid of their good counsel; and, by remonstrating against the universal evil of the war, induce us to accept an armistice that may lead to peace. But the masses are not yet prepared to listen to the voice of reason. Possibly the enforcement of a Conscription Act may bring them to terms.

In the meantime troubles thicken all around the horizon. Vicksburg remains invincible ; while another "surprise," in the shape of the ram *Arkansas*, dashes out of the Yazoo river, making sad havoc with the bombarding fleet, pouring hot shot and scalding water into our gun-boats, while her own iron cuticle remains as impervious to our heavy broadsides as the hide of a rhinoceros to a shower of hailstones. And then one Morgan has risen in the West, whose ravages are not exaggerated in the following description from the "New York World :"—

He crosses two States, and enters a third. He captures Harrodsburg, Lawrenceburg, Versailles, and Henderson, Kentucky ; rips up the track and burns Elkhorn Bridge, of the Louisville and Lexington Railroad ; burns another bridge on the Kentucky Central, thus severing the communication of Lexington with the North and West ; blockades the Ohio river ; impresses hundreds of horses, and enlists riders for them all ; and halts to get breath in the town of Newburg, Indiana.

He indulges his "lines of communications," or his "lines of retreat," or his "base of supplies," with not the syllable of "an order," nor the glance of an eye. He pushes ahead. What he can do he does ; what he can't do he don't do. What he can take along with him he does take along with him ; what he must leave behind he does leave behind. He tells one citizen that he comes to raise recruits and steal horses, not to fight. He replies to another : " Well, we're here to ride around the country, and play h—ll generally." He tells the good people of Hen-



derson, on the Ohio, that "he has come to protect the citizens against insults and ruling despotism." He tells the floating population of the river that he don't intend to interfere with any except Government boats ; navigation may go on until further orders. This is John Morgan. These are his doings. They are marvellous in our eyes.

And still our recruiting goes slowly, notwithstanding the large "bounties," public and private, and all the patriotic eloquence of Irish and German "Colonels" seeking to fill up their regiments or to raise new ones. But, alas ! thousands of maimed and wounded soldiers daily arriving from the scenes of defeat and disaster counteract by their wretchedness "the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely." During the first thirty days after the call for 300,000 more volunteers, only some 10,000 names were enrolled, and many of these are said to be "bogus." It is a question of very simple but most discouraging arithmetic to calculate how long it will take, at this rate, to raise the number called for—*two years and six months* at least—as the men will come faster during the first month than the last. Drafting therefore is inevitable, and to avoid this harsh and always unpopular alternative, we begin to hear that men are flying into Canada, and thousands of "unnaturalised citizens" are seek-

ing exemption from military duty through the protection of their national flags. While our army is wasting away by sickness and casualties at the rate of over four thousand a week, the prospect of subjugating the South not only appears distant and dubious, but absolutely impossible, and this, we believe, is now the "private opinion" of the majority of the Cabinet at Washington.

*South.* The North is losing heart, while the South is gaining hope. Our enemies lack inspiration. There is nothing worth fighting for in the abstract idea of "Union;" and surely the North has no grievance, no cause of complaint. We do not molest them, nor intend to invade their territory, unless it be to hasten peace by compelling an acknowledgment of our independence, the right to govern ourselves—that "inalienable right," as the original "declaration of independence" runs, "to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," of which we will not be defrauded by king or congress. Separate from the North, we are a homogeneous people, with no opposing interests, contented with our country and our constitution, with our government and with ourselves. When recognised as an independent Power, we propose to sit quietly "under our own vine and fig-tree," and enjoy

the fruits of our labours, while through the beneficent operations of absolute Free-trade we shall exchange the rich products of our soil for the comforts and luxuries of the world—the natural surplus of other climes and countries. The first nation to “recognise” us will be first in our hearts and foremost in our commerce ; and during the first year of peace the trade of the South, whose markets are so bare, and whose people are so destitute of the common necessities of civilised life, will amount to not less than 400,000,000 of dollars ! What animation this will give to the idle wheels of industry throughout the world ! England, France, Germany, and Switzerland are starving for our cotton, which we are consigning to the flames to save it from our enemies, in whose hands it would be converted into instruments of death to be used for our destruction. If Europe deplores this waste of war, it is no fault of ours. The South destroys its own property for the same reason that guns are spiked when about to fall into the hands of the enemy. If Europe is suffering from a cotton famine, let Europe take steps to end it. Let the Great Powers jointly REMONSTRATE against the coercive, tyrannical policy of the North ; let the remonstrance be followed by recognition

of the South, and the recognition by the opening of our ports, and peace is at once established. France and Russia, we are assured, are ready for the move, but England holds back from fear of incurring a demonstration of Northern wrath against her Canadian colony. Then let her avoid the difficulty by cutting loose from Canada, which is only a political bother and bill of expense to the "mother country." Let the British North American colonies confederate, and separate from the Imperial Government. We cannot understand why England wishes to protect a colony which only repays the favour by a protective tariff on English manufactures. But this is none of our business. The recognition of the South by Great Britain, or any other Power, would not only be no cause of war, but no violation of the doctrine of neutrality. Upon this point we find our own views explicitly stated in a pamphlet recently published in London, entitled "The Flag of Truce," and dedicated to the Emperor of the French. The writer says :—

When the great Republic was split asunder by the throes of Secession, eleven of the sovereign States of the Union, carrying a population of some 12,000,000 out of 30,000,000, with a territory of 800,000 square miles, and larger than all Western Europe, formed a new Union,

under an improved Constitution, which they called "The Confederate States of America." Under this new Government, a little more conservative, but not less essentially republican than the old Union, the Confederate people of the South have lived and fought, and bled and died, for eighteen months, in defence of their independence, acknowledging allegiance to no other Power, and recognising the existence of no other laws for the regulation of society, the administration of justice, and the general management of civil and military affairs. And yet they remain unrecognised by all other nations, except as a belligerent Power, or People. But in recognising the Confederates as belligerents, why not go one step further,—and a logical step it would be,—and recognise them as an organic political body, a People, a Government *de facto*, if not quite *de jure*? This would only be acting in accordance with England's boasted love of fair play, and without espousing the cause of either party. It would only place the belligerents, externally, and in relation to Foreign Powers, on a footing of just equality. The recognition of a Government involves representation and diplomatic relations with foreign countries. But Europe refuses to receive the Ministers of the Confederacy, consequently the South has no official advocate abroad, while the North has its diplomatic pleaders and special agents at every Court in Europe. And not only are the ears of Kings and Cabinets open to the representations of the North, but all the ports and markets of the world are open to its commerce; while the forges and manufactories of every land are employed in supplying them with the means and instruments of death. Is this fair play? With all these fearful physical odds in favour of the Northern Government, while all the moral sympathies of the world are in favour of a peaceful separation—the simple act of recognition, instead of being a *casus belli*, would be approved, even in the North, by "men of wisest

censure," as an act of duty and of justice, and in strict accordance with the precedents of nations. The United States have always been especially prompt to recognise every people "struggling for liberty," and not over-scrupulous about waiting for the credentials of a *de facto* government ; whether the bearer represents at Washington the result of the last head-and-tail-toss-up in Mexico ; some improvised Republic in South America ; or, what Mr. Webster called, some "pea-patch province" in Europe.

All the Great Powers have recognised from time to time the Governments of Brazil, Greece, Belgium, Lombardy, and Italy ; and all these countries combined are of less importance, commercially, to England and France, than the cotton culture alone of the Southern Confederacy. France, we are assured, is ready for the recognition ; but England is not—"letting I dare not wait upon I would." And wherefore does she hesitate ? The answer to this question, which everybody is asking, may be gathered from the debates in Parliament, and the despatches of the Government. But these we propose to look into a little more critically hereafter. In the meantime, England, occupying as she does the very highest position among the nations of the earth, seated on her island throne, with her feet upon the seas, and her crown among the stars—England, whose meridian sun leaves no shadow on her Empire, has a sacred duty to perform in behalf of her own suffering people at home, and in behalf of her more sadly suffering offspring in America.

To the humane instincts and Christian impulses of the nation, rather than to the diplomatic policy of the Government, we look, and hope, and pray for some discreetly proffered, some wisely arranged interposition in behalf of peace. It has been clearly shown in the recent debate in Parliament on Mr. Lindsay's motion for the Recognition of the Southern Confederacy as an independent, *de facto* Government, that the fact of recognition is

entirely consistent with the position of international neutrality; and numerous instances were cited to show that while England and the United States had always been prompt to recognise new Governments, they had not thereby actively espoused the cause of the new State, nor involved themselves in war with the old. The authority of Sir James Mackintosh, among English Statesmen, is strong and conclusive on this point. He says:—

“I wish to add one striking fact on the subject of recognition. The United States of America accompanied their acknowledgment with a declaration of their determination to adhere to neutrality in the contest between Spain and her colonies. A stronger instance cannot be adduced of the compatibility of recognition and neutrality.”

In 1849, the United States, under the administration of President Taylor, sent an envoy to Hungary with instructions to recognise the revolutionary Government if it maintained its position for only thirty days; and in the famous controversy with Austria which followed, conducted by Chevalier Hulseman and Mr. Webster, the latter declared that “independent Governments were recognised by the leading countries of Europe and by the United States before they were acknowledged by the State from which they had separated.” And no opinion ever uttered by Mr. Webster was more applauded by the American democracy than this declaration. But we need not quote authorities, nor point to precedents, since Lord Palmerston concedes the whole argument in the following extract from his speech in the House of Commons on the 18th of July last:—

“But then, many people who talk of acknowledgment seem to imply that that acknowledgment, if made, would establish some different relations between this country and the Southern States. But that is not the case. Acknowledgment would not establish a nation unless it

were followed by some direct active interference. Neutrality, as was well observed by the right hon. gentleman opposite, is perfectly compatible with acknowledgment. You may be neutral in a war between two countries whose independence you never called in question. Two long established countries go to war ; you acknowledge the independence of both, but you are not on that account bound to take part in the contest."

The question recurs, then, with an urgency that will be heard—why delay the recognition? Again, we can only refer to Ministers and to Parliaments for an answer. We have already adverted to the experiment of a combined offer of mediation on the part of the Great Powers addressed in the spirit of friendship and of neutrality to the contending parties. Should these words of kindness be unheeded, then recognition might follow ; and neither the recommendation of an armistice nor the recognition of the Confederacy would be a cause for complaint or hostility on the part of the North. On the contrary, we are assured by high authorities, by gentlemen of the best intelligence and largest influence in the Northern States, that the conservative and wealthy class of citizens on both sides would hail such an act of friendly interposition with delight.

Recognised or not, we shall continue to struggle on until our independence is achieved ; and our liberty will be all the more sweet for the sacrifice it has cost. Our people are knit together like a band of brothers by the sacred ties of sympathy and suffering, and our Confederacy is cemented by the best blood of our citizens. As for our women, God bless them !



their self-sacrificing devotion extorts the following tribute of praise even from their enemies, which we find as a "note of admiration" in the columns of a New York newspaper :—

It is the impetuous, fervent spirit of the Southern women that has infused into the rebellion its intensest life and fire. Feminine influence has been a tremendous power for the Confederacy. Jeff. Davis, to-day, would rather part with a hundred thousand bayonets than miss the flash of female eyes.

And the flash of those burning eyes has lighted and cheered many a brave soldier on his way to "dusty death." The North has no such jewels to defend; the women of the North are not in danger. No wonder our enemies lack inspiration for the contest. "A sinful heart makes feeble hand." A war for conquest is essentially wicked; the lust of power is an unholy passion. We pity the dying soldier on the battle-field who wants the consoling thought of dying in a just and righteous cause. He obeys the "order" of his general, which is loyalty to his country; while we, in defending all that is dear to us, obey the highest impulse of humanity, which is loyalty to God. The North, like the tyrant Gessler, raises the symbol of "Union," and bids us bow down to its authority; the South, like

the liberty-loving Tell, will sacrifice the life-blood of her best-loved son rather than submit to such ignominy of despotism.

*North.* There is serious political trouble brewing in the West. The reviving democratic party have spoken through the Democratic State Convention of Iowa, strongly denouncing the Tax and Tariff Bills; the latter as highly injurious to the interests of the West; and the former as discriminating against the poor, and in favour of the rich. What will they say when the tax-gatherer stands at the door, demanding of the owner of every log-hut in the wilderness *his money or his homestead?* for if the ready-money is not forthcoming, the sheriff's sale must follow the tax-collector's call! Ah! there's the rub; and this is what we fear will cause a revolution, or at least "repudiation" of the War debt, in the North; when the West will go with the South; New England, perhaps, with Canada; and California will assume an independent position as the Great Republic of the Pacific. To prevent the breaking up of our Star Republic into half a dozen insignificant asteroids is really what we are fighting for; but, it must be confessed, with daily diminishing hope of success. Well, if this is our "manifest destiny," the sooner we make up our minds to

it the better. There is truth in the denunciation of Scripture against the fool who goeth into a warfare before counting the cost. The Democratic party are making the most of M'Clellan's defeat to render the war unpopular. The cry they are now raising for "the Union as it was," is but the rallying cry for peace and separation; and they quote with great force the words of their idol Jefferson, who, on the occasion of the cession of Louisiana, speaking in his capacity as President of the United States, concedes the whole right of secession in the following paragraph :—

I see no objection to the apprehended severance of our confederation into two or more separate Republics, since I consider the earlier, and the more recently planted States, in the light only of elder and younger brethren, who need remain no longer united than may suit their interest and their happiness.

And, worst of all, the Southern sympathisers among us are throwing in President Lincoln's face the following "revolutionary doctrine," taken from a speech delivered by him as member of the Federal House of Representatives from the State of Illinois on the 12th of January, 1848, and which they call *good Secession seed* :—

Any people, any where, being inclined, and having the power, have a right to rise up and shake off the existing

government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionise and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionise, putting down a minority, intermingled with or near about them, who may oppose their movement. It is a quality of revolution not to go by old lines or old laws, but to break up both and to make new ones.

Indeed, the South seem to have the best of the argument, as well as of the fight, with the highest political “authorities” on their side; and we are beginning to see that the course of the North has been a series of blunders, from the election of Lincoln down to the late “run” from Richmond. We made a great mistake in calculating on the Unionism of the South; on the disposition of the slaves to rise against their masters; on the anti-Slavery sentiment of England; on the inability of the rebels to raise an army; and on the “moral sympathies” of the whole world. Last of all, we have mistaken the temper of our own people, in supposing that they would promptly and patriotically respond to the President’s call for 300,000 more men, to come forward for the “speedy crushing out

of the rebellion." At the recent mass meeting in New York, got up by well-known Irish military orators for the purpose of exciting enthusiasm for volunteering, the women turned out *en masse*, to prevent their husbands and friends from being carried away by the eloquence of the speakers. The appalling fact that the 69th New York regiment (exclusively Irish), which left that city a year ago, 1500 strong, has only 240 survivors, proved a powerful detriment to enlistment, and the meeting was literally a "dead failure." When our wives and mothers say to the recruiting officers, with most significant gesticulation, "You shall not take from us our husbands and our sons, unless you cut them from our arms!" there is little prospect of filling up the ragged regiments of the Northern army. And when men, "liable to do military duty," stand out waiting for "bids" before enlisting, there certainly cannot be much enthusiasm for the cause. In certain towns in Massachusetts these reluctant or speculating "patriots" have received sums as high as 1000 dollars for "volunteering" to fight against the South!

Conscription is the only alternative; and we learn that by the application of this method of raising men, the Confederates got together

60,000 recruits from the States of Georgia and Tennessee during the first ten days after our Richmond disasters. But we fear that our *impressed* soldiers will not fight as bravely when drawn out as *invaders*, as our enemies do who are summoned to take the field as *defenders*; and this is the distinction, with a tremendous difference, between the Union and the Rebel armies. Many of our men who *volunteered* to go after the Seceding South, could not help sometimes asking themselves, in the lull of the battle, what harm the South had done them, to incur the terrible punishment of death and devastation; and men who are *forced* to go against their will to butcher their Southern brethren, will be likely to question the justice of the cause still more severely.

If the call for conscripts should be answered by a general revolt, the wheels of the war are blocked; and we can go no further. It is whispered that the Government foresees this result, and regards it as the shortest way out of the difficulty. If the people won't fight, the President cannot compel them. Forced soldiers would be apt to *shoot high*, and only waste ammunition. The Northern bayonets are beginning to *think*; and the more they reflect, the less inclined will they be to go for-

ward in this horrible carnage. The Government at Washington is growing uneasy : and it is whispered that more than one member of the Cabinet is not only anxious to leave his seat, but to quit the country. Certain persons, known as "sporting politicians," are offering to bet odds that the Lincoln Administration will not winter in Washington ! There is on all sides a "fearful looking for of judgments to come ;" and we know not what a day may bring forth. Even Beecher's "Independent" newspaper has "gone over to the enemy," denouncing the war and all its conductors, from the Commander-in-Chief to the captains of squads. What are we coming to !

*South.* News from Europe ! Messrs. Mason and Slidell have demanded, respectively, of the Governments of England and France the immediate recognition of the Confederacy. They ask no intervention, no aid ; nothing but the simple act of recognition to which we are entitled by the custom and courtesy of nations. They demand it merely as a right : and surely it is one that can no longer be questioned, nor much longer be refused. While we have been fighting for our liberty, our enemies have recognised the independence of Hayti ; and they have never been slow to recognise a people,

black or white, claiming even the shadow of a Government. We believe the answer to the demand of our Commissioners is "under consideration." There is no excuse for delay, since even our enemies, by a formal exchange of prisoners, have given us a *quasi*-recognition; and the acknowledgment of the Confederate Government on the part of the European Powers would in no wise change the relative positions of the belligerents; while the effect could only be favourable in putting an end to this accursed war, of which both parties have had more than enough. England and France are suffering for the want of our trade; and self-interest must prompt them to take steps that will lead to peace. The exports from England to the United States during the past year have fallen off about 75,000,000 of dollars. But once our ports are open, and free-trade proclaimed with all the world (except our enemies), and we will make up the balance to England within a twelve-month. According to the estimate of Lieutenant Maury, it takes 20,000 ships and 200,000 men to transport the annual surplus of Southern products. The crops of a single year, springing from our inexhaustible soil, will pay for more than a year's imports; while our war debt is a private affair of our own, which will trouble



nobody. The Confederate scrip is payable in six months after the signing of a treaty of peace with the United States ; or convertible into twenty year bonds, bearing interest at eight per cent. per annum. And there will be no better negotiable "securities" offered in any market of the world. The soil of the South is a mine of exhaustless riches ; while our Government is an *elastic conservatism*, free from all the practical defects of the Republic from which we separated. Even our enemies universally admit the manifold improvements of our Constitution. The North is sadly embarrassed with its troublesome element of Free-Negroism. The number of free negroes in the North has increased in the last seventy years from 60,000 to 500,000 ; and they are everywhere regarded as a *nuisance*, degrading white labour, and contributing largely to the number of convicts and paupers. Many of the Free States have taken steps to get rid of them. In the Slave States the negro is never a pauper, and rarely a criminal. Being always provided for, he has little temptation to steal. Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, who has made his fortune out of Southern Cotton, is now recruiting a black brigade to cut the throats of his benefactors ! He will find that he has in his hands a two-edged sword that will

cut both ways. That brigade of vagabond niggers, if Lincoln should be mad enough to accept them, will be the signal of "no quarter" on the part of the South. Our slaves even will meet them with the "black flag" flying.

When the war-cloud rolls away, and the sun of peace again smiles on our blood-stained fields—when the sickle and the scythe, in place of the sword and the bayonet, shall reap for us harvests of life instead of death, we shall spring at once to a career of happiness and prosperity without a parallel in the history of the world. Our nonage is already passed. Like a newborn, full-armed Minerva, the Southern Confederacy begins her independent existence in all the plenitude of wisdom and of power; and as the mother loves her babe the more for the anguish it has cost her—"the day of woe, the anxious night"—so shall we cherish a more profound and patriotic devotion to our country for all those "pangs and fears which wars and women have," through which our national being has been won.

Midnight is past; the dawn is breaking. Alas! for the sleepers who wake not! Already the warm bosom of the "sunny South" begins to thrill to the Memnonian music of the morning, and exult in the glories of the coming day.

Let the *Te Deum Laudamus* be our first matin hymn ; while all the nations of the earth rejoice to swell the glad and grateful anthem—as it was in the beginning—PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MAN.

*North.* The night thickens ; the storm increases ; and our poor ship rolls heavily in the trough of the sea. The passengers are praying in the cabin, and the Pilot is trembling in the wheel-house. God of mercy, send us deliverance !

## THE TWO CONSTITUTIONS.

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POLITICAL Constitutions to be durable must be elastic ; otherwise, like that of England, they had better remain unwritten. When they begin to impinge on the growth or to impede the progress of a people, they must be changed. The inflexible rigour of Procrustean forms is incompatible with the natural expansion of liberal principles. The Constitutions of republics generally make allowance for contingencies by provisions for "amendments," a sort of safety-valve to prevent revolutions. They are not, like the "laws of the Medes and Persians," a framework of iron ; but carefully provided with moveable joints and adjustments adapted to the operation of circumstances. A written Constitution professes and presumes to embody the wisest theory of government which the people who adopt it are capable of framing, and of obeying. When self-imposed, it is like a garment of one's own choosing ; and if it does not fit, there is not only no law against

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alteration, but a special stipulation in the original agreement in regard to the *modus operandi*. As the fashions of this world change and pass away, so the forms of government vary in accordance with different climes, conditions, and epochs ; or, as it has been well put in an aphorism, "When circumstances alter, things themselves must alter."


In attempting a comparison of the Constitutions of the Federal and the Confederate States of America, we must begin with the history of the Federation of the United States ; examine the operations and amendments of the original Constitution ; and notice the changes and improvements adopted by the new Confederacy.

Without going back to the great era of *Magna Charta*, when the political rights of the people were first fully recognised, and "reduced to writing," as the lawyers phrase it, we will start from the settlement of the American colonies ; and find in the cabin of the "Mayflower" the cradle of American liberty. For it was there, in that frail but richly-freighted bark, tossed on an unknown winter sea, that the first Republican "compact" was drawn up and signed by forty-one adult male "pilgrims," which contains the germ of every Constitution, State or Federal, that has since been adopted as an instrument of

self-government in the New World. The fathers of New England—"forefathers," as they are traditionally called—if fanatics in religion, were not less zealous in the cause of liberty. Freedom to worship God, and freedom to govern themselves, were the watchwords inscribed on their banners, on the doors of their school-houses, and on the corner-stones of their churches. They were also well-educated men, as the records of their voyage, kept in Latin, written by various hands, and religiously preserved in the archives of Plymouth, abundantly show. The inspired voice of Milton, singing in the midst of his darkness of

That celestial light  
Which never yet hath shone on sea or land,

like the crepuscular rays announcing the dawn of a new day, filled the hearts of his Puritan disciples with courage, hope, and joy. Carver, Bradford, Standish, Fuller, Winslow, Winthrop, Roger Williams, and Sir Harry Vane, carried the spirit of the British Constitution into the wilderness of the West, ere long to "bud and blossom as the rose." We have good historical reason for believing that at least one of the Charters for the government of the new colonies was drawn by the master hand of the



Poet of Liberty. When Sir Harry Vane returned to England for the purpose of obtaining from the King a charter for the "Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," he is known to have "passed some weeks on a visit to John Milton at his country seat;" and that remarkable Rhode Island Charter bears unmis- takeable evidence of being written or revised by a political seer as well as poet, whose thoughts and theories ran centuries ahead of his time. So liberal and elastic were the provisions of this charter, that the State of Rhode Island retained it as a Constitution for two hundred years; and so tenaciously did the people cling to it, that it was only thrown off by revolution; or rather, after the abortive attempt at revolution known as the "Dorr Rebellion," which so ingloriously fizzled in the hero's "flight from Chepachet."

We will here give the names of the original Thirteen Colonies in the order of their settle- ment:—Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Delaware, Mary- land, Connecticut, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Georgia. These colonies existed under "patents" granted by Great Britain to various "companies," until the period of the revolution. The respective governors received their commissions from the

Crown ; and they were generally sent over from England. The colonies, in all governmental affairs were mere "dependencies" upon the mother country. Virginia, popularly known as the "Old Dominion," was discovered in 1584, but not settled until 1607, at Jamestown, on the James River, so named in honour of the king ; but previously called Powhatan, after the celebrated Indian chief (the father of Pocahontas) who then reigned in that neighbourhood. The charter, granted to Captain John Smith and his associates, covered unlimited territory, extending westward to the Pacific Ocean. But in 1784, at the close of the war, Virginia ceded her whole north-west territory to the United States, retaining only, beyond what now constitutes her borders, the State of Kentucky. New York, which is believed to have been discovered in 1524, by the Florentine navigator Varrazani, was settled in 1609, two years after Virginia, at Albany, by the English navigator, Henry Hudson, whose name will run to "the last syllable of recorded time," in the beautiful river that bears his name. Four years later the city of New York was founded, but called New Amsterdam until 1664, when Charles II. granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, all the territory, including New York, New England,



and New Jersey. In 1620, Massachusetts was settled by the Puritans at Plymouth, whose royal grant included what became New Hampshire in 1679 ; and the State of Maine in 1820.

In regard to the condition of the American colonies during what may be termed their minority, it is not essential to our present purpose to treat more particularly ; neither is it necessary to discuss the causes which led to the throwing off of the " yoke of British oppression," as the colonists began to call the rule of the Imperial Government. One hundred and fifty years of childhood are past ; the memorable year of 1776 has arrived ; and this flourishing family of Thirteen British scions proclaim their manhood and declare their independence. The great problem now is to form a political union, an alliance or federation, in order to resist the coercive policy of England ; in other words, to unite for the sake of strength to contend against a common enemy ; to prepare a common Constitution to ensure the common welfare. The several colonies having, with more or less reluctance, decided to secede from Great Britain, to rebel, to cut loose from their allegiance, to deny the divine authority of kings, and establish an independent national existence, are compelled to confederate in self-defence, not-

withstanding, even at that early period, the colonial elements were radically incongruous. The Puritans of New England, and the Romanists of Maryland did not coalesce from any feeling of personal affinity, but for the sake of personal security; while the Cavaliers of Georgia and the Carolinas could only be induced by the common bond of danger to unite their fate and fortune with the Dutch of New York, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, or the Baptists of Rhode Island.

From the passage of the notorious Stamp Act in 1765, followed by the duties on paper, glass, and tea in 1767, the colonies were agitated by a series of incipient revolts, resulting in the collision at Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775, and the battle of Bunker-hill on the following 17th of June. For some ten years of discontent the local legislatures had been passing "resolutions" of resistance; and the feeling of hostility was growing more and more intense, until the enmity of the colonists culminated in the formal declaration of war and independence on the 4th of July, 1776. This famous "declaration" was put forth by a Congress composed of delegates from the several colonies assembled in the city of Philadelphia. It is an eloquent and earnest manifesto; broadly asserting the rights of the

people ; recapitulating the grievances of the colonists ; and adding what would be called by an American Convention of the present day, a "platform" of fundamental principles. This world-renowned "Declaration of Independence" contains not only an elaboration of the doctrines of the "Mayflower compact," but much of the thought and language previously expressed in the Virginia "Bill of Rights," adopted on the 12th of June, 1776, subsequently repeated in the "Articles of Confederation" in 1781, and finally incorporated in the Constitution of 1787, the organic instrument of government which we are about to consider as the Federal Constitution of the United States.

This great work of the "Fathers of the Republic," as they are reverently called, the American people have always been taught to regard as "a monument of human wisdom," second only in sanctity to "the Covenant which the Lord gave unto Moses." It was not the product of a day, but the result of long and patient labour ; and its operations were designed not for a generation, but for all time. *Esto perpetua* was its original motto. It is thoroughly imbued with the intelligent liberalism of the most advanced governments of the epoch ; and salted, if we may use the expression, by every

“saving clause” which could be gathered from the records of antecedent legislation. Grecian justice and Roman liberty, the serene and hopeful soul of Plato, and the brave and independent spirit of Brutus, meet and mingle as elemental constituents in this great provision—and provision, we may add, of self-government. It may justly be regarded as the net result—the sum total of all that the world at that time knew of the philosophy of human government—the fruit of a political experience extending back to the misty morning of the “Mosaic dispensation.” The constitutions of monarchies, as well as of republics, ancient and modern, were distilled, as it were, in order to discover a sort of political elixir for the grand experiment of a new democracy in a new world. Each of the Sovereign States about to be confederated contributed something in the way of provision or suggestion from its own constitution ; while all were anxiously watching the process of formation which was to embody and crystallise the *ne plus ultra* system of free government. Long was the labour, excited the discussions, fearful the forebodings, and fervent the prayers that brought forth the model constitution of “the model Republic.” Contrasting that period with this, one can hardly help repeating the sad conclusion of the poet—

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A thousand years scarce serve to form a State,  
An hour may lay it in the dust.

Let us briefly glance at the history of the formation of the Federal Constitution.

The revolution is successful ; the Seven Years' War is ended ; the independence of the United Colonies is achieved. In 1783 the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain is signed, and the national existence of the United States is acknowledged and recognised by Foreign Powers. On the 17th of September, 1787, after a session of four months, the Congress of the United States completed and adopted the Federal Constitution as it now is, with the exception of certain "amendments" that have from time to time been added. The casual or careless reader of history is apt to confound the "Articles of Confederation" of 1781 with the Constitution of 1787. The former, although intended to effect "a perpetual union" after serving as a treaty of alliance during the war, were entirely superseded by the Constitution of 1787, although the latter retained much of the spirit and letter of the original "Articles." As an illustration of this identity of principle and language we quote, of the "Confederation,—

*Article II.* "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence ; and every

power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

And from the Constitution of the United States, of the "amendments" added before its adoption—

*Article X.* "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

These, it may be observed, are the texts from which the State Rights party, or Secessionists, derive their constitutional authority for dissolving the Union, The reasons for abrogating the "Articles of Confederation," which were altogether too loosely and vaguely framed for practical operation as organic laws, are thus briefly stated in the "preamble" to the Constitution :—

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The Constitution then proceeds with the usual

formalities to create the Government, which is divided into three departments—legislative, executive, and judicial—explicitly defining the powers and duties of each. There shall be a Federal Senate and House of Representatives. No person shall be a representative who is under twenty-five years of age, and who has not been seven years a citizen of the United States. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand inhabitants ; but each State shall have at least one representative. The House of Representatives shall choose their own Speaker, and it shall have the sole power of impeachment. The Senate shall be composed of two members from each State, elected for six years by the Legislature thereof. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be paid out of the treasury of the United States. The powers of Congress are limited to specific subjects of legislation. To lay taxes and levy duties for the common defence and welfare, to coin and to borrow money, to establish post-offices and post routes, to declare war, to raise armies, to provide a navy, to regulate foreign relations, &c., &c. The executive power is invested in the President, who shall be elected for four years. He

must be a native-born citizen, not under thirty-five years, and for fourteen years a resident within the United States. Before entering on the execution of his office, he must take the following oath :—

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.” He is commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States. The Vice-President is *ex officio* President of the Senate.

The judicial power of the United States is invested in “one supreme court, and such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.” The judges shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall receive a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open



court. No attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted. The Constitution guarantees a republican form of government to each State, and provides for its own amendments. It prohibits titles of nobility; prescribes the modes of electing and appointing Federal officers; and enacts the "Fugitive Slave Law," thereby recognising the right of property in slaves by the following clause of Article IV., section 2—"No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due." We allude to these main features of the Federal Constitution, not for the purpose of criticism, but merely to refresh the memory of the reader. To relate when, how, and why it was adopted, to point out some of its practical defects, and to note the changes in the new Constitution of the "Confederate States of America," is the more immediate object of the present essay. The Constitution of 1787, which is the present Constitution of the United States, was formed by a Convention, presided over by George Washington, a deputy from

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Virginia, and embraced the honoured names of many "revolutionary sires" who had already "made themselves immortal" by signing the "Declaration of Independence." These patriotic men were literally the "Fathers of the Republic," whose degenerate sons, rejoicing in their inheritance of fame, still claim to rank among the aristocracy of America, in spite of the more brilliant attractions of the order of "El Dorado," and the popular preference for the "Almighty Dollar." In reporting the Constitution to the Federal Congress, Washington wrote officially a memorable letter, replete with the wisdom of the deliberative body over which he had so long and with such patient dignity presided, from which we quote the concluding portion. "In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American—the consolidation of our union—in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of unity, and of that mutual

deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable. That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not, perhaps, to be expected ; but each will doubtless conclude, that had her interest been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others. That it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe ; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish." These words of wisdom and conciliation, which inspire a new feeling of reverence as often as we repeat them,—coming from one who had earned the name of "The Saviour of his Country," the heroic leader of that long and desperate struggle for liberty and peace,—from him who had been baptised with fire on fields of glory, and whom "Nature had left childless that his country might call him father,"—these words were promptly answered by Congress in the following resolution :—

"*Resolved unanimously*, that the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention

of delegates chosen in each State by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention made and provided in that case." The last article of the Constitution required that nine out of the thirteen States should accept it in conformity with the above resolution before the government it created could be legally and finally established; and the Constitution has now to pass the ordeal of popular ratification. The debates which ensued in the local legislatures and conventions when the Federal Constitution was put upon its passage are exceedingly voluminous and interesting; and each State preserves these "proceedings" among its most curious and valuable records. There was no end of argument for and against the Constitution; while the reasons urged for its adoption, rejection, or modification, differed in different sections. On the declaration of independence, the several States formed Constitutions for themselves, or remodelled their existing charters; and while all were aiming to secure the same general object, each had its local peculiarity, or what has since obtained the harder name of "sectional prejudice." Massachusetts and South Carolina were aboriginal antipodes on many fundamental points of legislation; and it is not necessary to add that the

differences between them have been continually widening, until union is impossible, and connection undesirable. Ten of the States ratified the Constitution on or before the 26th of June, 1788 ; while New York, Rhode Island, and North Carolina, obstinately remained out under the organisation of 1781, that "perpetual union," of short duration, formed during the war, for the purpose of self-defence. These ten States, in January, 1789, appointed electors to choose a chief magistrate ; and on the 30th of April following, George Washington was elected as the first President of the United States. In the meantime, the State of New York came into the Union, but not in time to take part in the organisation of the Government. At this time the original thirteen "United Colonies" constituted three independent Republics. The United States ; the State of Rhode Island ; and the State of North Carolina. The latter yielded to the federation in November, 1789 ; and Rhode Island at a still later period. The Government, now fairly in operation, is composed of thirteen "sovereign and independent States," embracing a population of about 4,000,000, including 700,000 slaves, and 60,000 free negroes. Of the amendments to the Constitution, proposed by Congress and ratified by the States,



we will quote two of the articles which have a special bearing on recent events.

*Article I.* "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

*Article IV.* "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized."

Readers of the current history of the passing hour know well how recklessly these provisions of the Constitution have been violated. But the great and all-absorbing question of the moment is that which relates to the inherent powers of the States; to the intent and purpose of the Federal compact; in a word, to the fearfully disputed and desperately contested *right of secession*. Upon this point we will simply adduce a few "authorities," including declarations put forth in the Constitutions of

the several States, and the opinions of eminent individuals known and respected as "the Fathers of the Republic." It is the very first principle asserted by democracy, that all power is derived from, and vested in, the people ; that the political right to rule is rather of subterranean than of superterranean origin ; and it is the leading dogma of every Republican State in the American Union, that the Federal Government derives all its power by delegated authority from the States which compose it. Here is the subtle point which, has employed the tongues and pens of the sophists and casuists, from the formation of the Union in 1781, to its dissolution in 1860. The people are sovereign, the States are sovereign and independent ; and the Federal or *Supreme* Government is but an "agent" of the people, who have instructed the States to delegate to *it*, the Government of the United States, certain specific powers and prescribed duties ! Without entering into the knotty argument involving the rights of States, we will quote what the States themselves have declared in their own Constitutions. Massachusetts and New Hampshire assert :—

"The people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent State ;

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and do, and for ever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not, or may not hereafter be, by them expressly *delegated* to the United States of America in Congress assembled."

South Carolina and Illinois assert—"All power is originally vested in the people; and all free governments are founded on their authority, and are instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness."

Iowa, California, New Jersey, Minnesota, and Ohio, assert—"All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for the protection, security, and benefit of the people; and they have the right at all times to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it."

Missouri asserts—"That the people of this State have the inherent, sole, and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof, and of altering and abolishing their Constitution and form of government, whenever it may be necessary to their safety and happiness."


The Virginia Constitution adopted in 1851, asserts—"That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or com-



munity ; of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the dangers of maladministration ; and that when any government shall be found inadequate, or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal."


Maryland asserts—"That all government of right originates from the people, is founded in compact only, and instituted solely for the good of the whole ; and they have at all times, according to the mode prescribed in this Constitution, the inalienable right to alter, reform, or abolish their forms of government, in such manner as they may deem expedient."

Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Arkansas, Oregon, and Maine, assert—"That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness ; for the advancement of these ends, they have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their Government in such manner as they may think proper."



Connecticut, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Texas, assert—"That all political power is inherent in the people, and all free Governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such manner as they may think expedient." These unanimous and repeated declarations of the States, as they formally entered the Union one after another, until the Federated family grew from thirteen to thirty-four, are sufficiently explicit upon the Democratic theory of the right of the people to govern themselves. In regard to the nature, intent, and durability of the Federal compact, let us seek an exposition in the opinions of "the Fathers."


Ellsworth, of Connecticut, who early foresaw the danger of conflict between two co-existent sovereignties, in his speech before the convention, in 1788, says:—"This Constitution does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies, States in their political capacity. No coercion is applicable to such bodies but that of an armed force. If we should attempt to execute the laws of the Union by sending an armed force against a delinquent State, it would involve the good and bad, the innocent and



in the same calamity. But *legal* coercion singles out the guilty individual, and punishes *him* for breaking the laws of the Union." Sherman, of the same state, and on the same occasion, says:—"The Government of the United States being Federal, and instituted by a number of sovereign States for the better security of their rights and the advancement of their interests, they may be considered as so many pillars to support it; and by the exercise of the State Governments, peace and good order may be preserved in the place most remote from the seat of the Federal Government, as well as at the centre."

Chief Justice Law says:—"This General Government rests upon the State Governments for its support. It is like a vast and magnificent bridge, built upon thirteen strong and stately pillars: now, the rulers who occupy the bridge cannot be so beside themselves as to knock away the pillars which support the whole fabric."

Alexander Hamilton, whose conservative mind inclined to consolidation, admits that—"Each State possesses in itself *full* power of Government, and can at once, in a regular way, take measures for the preservation of its rights. It can enter into a regular plan of defence with



the forces of the community at its command ; it can immediately form connections with its neighbours, or even with foreign powers, if necessary."

Mr. Coxe, a member of the Philadelphia Convention, and a strong advocate for the adoption of the Constitution, says :—" As under the old, so under the new Federal Constitution, the Thirteen United States were not intended to be, and really are not, consolidated in such manner as to absorb or destroy the sovereignties of the several States."

The eloquent Patrick Henry, of Virginia, whose clarion voice hurried thousands to the battle fields of the Revolution, strenuously opposed the adoption of the Constitution, which he thought had "an awful squinting towards monarchy." In speaking of the powers conferred on the President, he says—" Can he not, at the head of his army, beat down every opposition ? Away with your President ! We shall have a *King* ; the army will salute him monarch ; your militia will leave you, and assist in making him King, and fight against you : And what have you to oppose to this force ? What will then become of your rights ? *Will not absolute despotism ensue ?* "

Randolph, of the same State, said—" 

though coercion is an indispensable ingredient, it ought not to be directed against a State, as a State, it being impossible to attempt it, except by blockading the trade of the delinquent, or carrying war into its bowels. Even if these violent scenes were attempted, both of them might perhaps be defeated by the scantiness of the public chest." [Mr. Chase's paper-mill was not invented yet.] "But how shall we speak of the intrusion of troops? Shall we arm citizens against citizens, and habituate them to shed kindred blood? Shall we risk the inflicting of wounds which will generate a rancour never to be subdued? Would there be no room to fear that an army accustomed to fight for the establishment of authority, would salute an emperor of their own? Let us not bring these things into jeopardy."

And what says Washington, the *Pater Patriæ*?—"I am not a blind admirer (for I saw the imperfections of the Constitution I aided in the birth of before it was handed to the public); but I am fully persuaded it is the best that can be obtained *at this time*; that it is free from many of the imperfections with which it is charged, and that *it*, or *disunion*, is before us to choose from."

Benjamin Franklin—of whom it was said,

“the lightnings of heaven yielded to his philosophy”—in his last speech in the Federal Convention says—“I do not entirely approve of this Constitution at present. I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such, because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing if well administered ; and I believe, further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall have become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other.” Franklin was a prophet.

Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, said—  
“The Constitution proposed has few, if any, federal features, but is rather a system of *national* government.”

Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, said—“This Constitution abounds with useful regulations ; at the same time, it is liable to strong and fundamental objections.”

Wilson, of Pennsylvania, speaks of the Constitution as “an act of incorporation ;” and Rufus King “considers it as a *commission*, under which it will be the guardian of State Rights.”

Mr. Madison says—"The powers of the Federal Government are no further *valid* than they are plainly authorised by the Constitution ; and in case of the exercise of other powers not granted by that *compact*, the States have a right, and are in duty bound, to interfere."

John Quincy Adams says—"If the day shall come—may Heaven avert it !—when the affections of the people of these States shall be alienated from each other, when this fraternal spirit shall give way to cold indifference, or collisions of interest shall fester into hatred, then the bonds of political association will not hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of conciliated interests and kindly sympathies ; and far better will it be for the people of the disunited States to *part in friendship from each other than to be held together by restraint.*" This is the opinion of one who was President, and whose father was President of the United States, but whose son is now preaching a very different doctrine into the diplomatic ears of the Court of St. James.

Henry Clay, whose noble motto, "*I had rather be right than to be President,*" prevented him from attaining the position for which nature designed him, and to which the better portion of the people nominated him, says—"When

my State is right, when it has cause for resistance, when tyranny, and wrong, and oppression insufferable arise, I will share her fortunes." No one can doubt where the "gallant Harry of the West" would be found, had the calamity which he so long contended against arrived before his manly form was laid to rest in the peaceful shades of Ashland. But it was better that Cicero should die at his Tusculum than be strangled in the groves of Terracina. Mr. Webster, whose eloquent prayer, that he might close his eyes in death before seeing the "broken and dishonoured fragments of a once glorious Union," is as familiar as the litany, in speaking of the Federal compact, says—"A bargain broken on one side is broken on all sides."

James T. Brady, the eloquent New York advocate, recently the Democratic candidate for governor, says, in 1850—"If any number of the States seek to invade the rights of any others, those assailed have the right both to complain and to *resist*."

Daniel S. Dickinson, for many years United States Senator for New York, now the Attorney-General of that State, *formerly* declared, with his eye on the Presidential chair—"The Union is not to be maintained by force."

Chancellor Walworth, of New York, says—



"It would be as brutal to send men to butcher their brothers of the Southern States, as it would be to massacre them in the Northern States."

Senator Breckenridge, of Kentucky, the Southern Democratic candidate for President in 1860, who served as Vice-President under Buchanan, and who is now serving as brigadier-general in the Confederate army, says—"Secession ends our federative system. All the delegated powers revert to the States. *The power to coerce resides nowhere.*"

The Democratic State Convention assembled at Albany, the State capital of New York, in March, 1861, deliberately put forth the following declaration :—"We will oppose any attempt on the part of the Republicans in power to make any armed aggression, under the plea of enforcing the laws, or preserving the Union, upon the Southern States. . . . The worst and most ineffective argument that can be addressed by the Federal Government or its adhering members to the seceding States is civil war. Civil war will not restore the Union, but will *defeat for ever its reconstruction.*"

The Hon. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, who has filled with dignity and grace almost every political office in the gift of the people

below the very highest, besides filling the pulpit of a Boston church and the President's chair of Harvard University, wrote a letter to the "Boston Courier," on the 2nd of February, 1861, from which we quote the following sensible and conclusive paragraph:—"To expect to hold fifteen States in the Union by force is preposterous. The idea of civil war, accompanied as it would be by servile insurrection, is too monstrous to be entertained for a moment. If our sister States wish to leave us, in the name of Heaven, let them go in peace."

It is but just to add, however, that several of these eminent men whose opinions we have quoted, have, since uttering them, fallen victims to the "war fever," and are now among the advocates of "the Union at any cost." It seems to be as hard for an American politician to resist the current of popular favour, no matter which way, or to what end it may run, as it is for "them that have riches to enter into the kingdom of heaven."

We have now briefly glanced at the origin and formation of the Federal Constitution, and cited opinions, sufficient, we think, in number and authority, to enable not only the political student, but the common reader, to interpret the text in the spirit of the writers. From the

day of the adoption of this instrument of Government in 1787, to the fateful hour of its dissolution in 1860, the precise intent and purpose of certain clauses and phrases of the Constitution have been themes of perpetual controversy in the Federal Legislature. But amidst all the wrangling, in Congress and out of Congress, between "strict Constructionists," "Latitudinarians," and "State Rights" parties, the people of all sections and of all classes have been taught to regard and revere the Supreme Court of the United States, whose opinions should for ever settle the question of the constitutionality of any act of the Federal Congress, as the ark of the covenant of their liberties. It remained for the party now in power at Washington to raise the first threat of *revolution* against the Supreme Court, in consequence of its recent decision contravening the theories and prejudices of the Northern Abolitionists. Mr. Lincoln, in his electioneering speech in the city of New York, on the 27th of February, 1860, sneered at the decision of the highest judicial tribunal of the Government, in the famous "Dred Scott case;" and said, "the Court have decided it in a *sort of way*, by a bare majority of the judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons

for making it," &c., &c. He proceeded in this vein of detraction to say that the judges were mistaken in facts, and sought, both by accusation and inuendo, to bring the Supreme Court into popular contempt. No wonder the Conservatives began to feel alarmed, or that the Democratic Convention that nominated Douglas should put forth the following resolution as the first plank in their "platform:" "That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law."

It cannot be denied that the remodelling of the Supreme Court was, and perhaps is, one of the revolutionary dreams of the Republican party.

Whether the Federal Constitution provides for its own destruction, is a question too absurd for grave discussion. It evidently was not intended as a series of articles drawn up for a *limited* partnership. But that the several "sovereign and independent States" comprising the political league, or compact, or federation, believed in certain "reserved rights," no one can reasonably doubt; among these the *right of Secession* is the most prominent and the most important; and neither in the enactments of the Constitution, nor in the opinions of the men

who framed it, do we find any law or authority for *coercing* a sovereign State by the exercise of Federal power. On the contrary, all such propositions were repeatedly voted down in the Convention, and utterly repudiated by the States.

Having now come to the formal, overt act of Secession, by the passage of the Secession ordinance of South Carolina on the 20th December, 1860, and the attack on the Federal fort in the harbour of Charleston on the 12th of April following by the forces of the State, let us refer to the formation and adoption of the new Confederate Constitution, and notice particularly the points in which it differs from the political parentage it so closely resembles.

As a consequence of the triumph of the Republican party in the election of Lincoln to the presidency of the United States, secession was "a foregone conclusion." The election was held in November, and between the two democratic candidates, Douglas and Breckenridge, the republican candidate, although in the minority by over a million of votes, was, nevertheless, legally and constitutionally elected. Early in the following month the State of South Carolina openly called a convention for the avowed purpose of seceding from the Union.

This convention consisted of 169 members, who, after mature and formal deliberation, unanimously passed the following ordinance, dissolving the tie of allegiance which bound them to the Federal Government :—

“ We, the people of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention on the 23rd day of May, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the general assembly of this State, ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.” This ordinance was proclaimed to the people, accompanied by a declaration of grievances, and reasons which had compelled them to take this step ; and from the moment the cannon of Charleston announced the joyous fact of secession—for such it was everywhere hailed by the citizens of that State—down to the present hour, the Palmetto people, with absolute unanimity, have religiously believed themselves as free from any law or authority of the United States, as from the Government of Great Britain

or of any other foreign power. Repeating the history of her own colonial period, she first put forth a "declaration of independence," and then embarked in the desperate "struggle for liberty."

On the 9th of January, 1861, the State of Mississippi followed the example of South Carolina ; Alabama on the 11th ; Florida on the 12th ; Georgia on the 19th ; Louisiana on the 28th ; and Texas on the 1st of February. On the 6th of February, a Congress, composed of these seven seceded States, met at Montgomery, Alabama, and elected Jefferson Davis, late United States senator from Mississippi, provisional President. While this body was actively engaged in organising the new Government, President Lincoln's administration was inaugurated ; and the civil war began by the attack on Fort Sumter, in the harbour of Charleston, on the 12th of April, resulting in the surrender of the Federal troops under Major Anderson, on the following day.


Then came President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men to "defend the capital ;" but fearing that the President intended to make war on the seceded States, Virginia hastened to join her Southern sisters on the 17th of April ; Arkansas, on the 6th of May ; Tennessee, on the 8th, and

North Carolina, on the 20th. The Southern Confederacy, now composed of eleven States, covering an area of 733,645 square miles, and embracing an aggregate population of some 12,000,000, goes to work in serious earnestness to put the machinery of Government in operation ; and while the North is preparing to fight for "empire," the South solemnly resolves to struggle for "independence," adopting the old revolutionary alternative of "liberty or death." The first essential act of the new Confederation is the adoption of a Constitution, and this is the "organic instrument" which we propose somewhat critically to examine, to discover wherein it differs from the Constitution of the United States ; and to consider by the light of experience whether these differences are mere alterations or substantial improvements. The Federal Government having been in operation for seventy-five years, its practical defects have been noted ; and in some instances obviated by amendments. As the new Confederacy proposes no elemental or radical change in the system of Government, it would seem to be an easy task to remodel the Constitution so as to preserve only its good features while eliminating the bad. And thus the old Constitution, the work of the "Fathers of the Republic," three-



quarters of a century ago, is thrown into the political crucible at Montgomery ; and we have now to look at the result of the refining process placed in our hands by the reformers of the new Confederation.

The Constitution of "the Confederate States of America" was unanimously adopted by the Provisional Congress at Montgomery, on the 11th March, 1861, and subsequently ratified by the several States in the same manner (but without the hesitation) that we have noticed in the ratification of the Federal Constitution by the original thirteen States. Every step was deliberately and *formally* taken, and in strict accordance with the *precedent* established by the action of the "United Colonies" in their separation or secession from the Government of Great Britain, so that they who dispute the *right* of secession cannot deny that the action of the seceding States was carefully covered by the forms of law. The "preamble" of the new Constitution is almost identical in language with that of the old, except in its invocation of divine "power and guidance." It runs thus: "We, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to form a permanent federal government, establish justice, ensure domestic



tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, invoking the favour and guidance of Almighty God, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Confederate States of America." The important political innovation here is the prompt enunciation of the independence and sovereignty of the States—the recognition *ab initio* of the fundamental doctrine of State rights. That the several States composing the Southern Confederacy have entered into a new compact, in the full belief of the right to break it when it becomes oppressive—to secede again when they choose—there can be no room or reason for doubt. Their own example in the past will be their own excuse in the future. But this very understanding, instead of weakening, greatly strengthens the bond of union, as voluntary associations are infinitely stronger than compulsory obligations, and such associations only are compatible with the theory of free government; else that democratic dogma, the cornerstone of republicanism—"all governments must rest upon the consent of the governed," is not only a popular absurdity, but an absolute falsehood. The constitution of the Confederacy does not declare the right of secession in explicit terms; this would have been too much

like proclaiming the law of divorce at the nuptial altar ; but the right is more than implied in the repeated recognition of the "reserved rights" and "independent sovereignty" of the individual States. In Article VI. the ground is covered by the following sections :—  
"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people of the several States."

"The powers not delegated to the Confederate States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people thereof." The next important changes we notice are the provisions incorporated in the Constitution regulating the institution of negro slavery. The Constitution of the United States recognises and protects slavery, but almost without avowing it. The word *slave* or *slavery* is not used in that instrument. Instead of calling things by their right names, the slave is designated as a "person bound to service or labour," who, if absconded or abducted, must be restored to his owner like a runaway horse or a stolen sheep. The framers of the Confederate Constitution, having to grapple with the great fact of the existence of 3,500,000 slaves within their bor-

ders, whose labour is the principal source of their prosperity, and whose obedience is vitally essential to the peace and happiness of the community, do not shrink from enacting organic laws for the management of slavery, but treat the subject as political economists, and not as abolition sentimentalists. The latter whine over an evil which they cannot remedy, while the former, by wise and benevolent legislation, seek from the "partial evil" to educe only "universal good." We will quote entire the provisions of the Confederate Constitution relating to the troublesome question of negro slavery.

*Article I., section 9.*—"The importation of negroes of the African race from any foreign country other than the slaveholding States or territories of the United States of America, is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

"Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of, or territory not belonging to, this Confederacy.

"No bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in slaves, shall be passed."

*Article IV., section 2.*—"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, and shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not thereby be impaired.

"No slave or other person held to service or labour in any State or Territory of the Confederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping, or lawfully carried into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belongs, or to whom such service or labour may be due."

These enactments constitute all the provisions and safeguards for regulating "the peculiar institution" to be found in the Constitution of the new Confederacy. They *for ever prohibit the African slave trade*, and render unnecessary any further legislation for the recovery of fugitive slaves or the establishment of "equal rights in the Territories." The Constitution proceeds to prohibit the conferring of titles of nobility; the enactment of tariff laws to foster any particular branch of industry; the acceptance of

presents or emoluments from any king, prince, or foreign State, by persons holding office under the Government; to protect authors and inventors by copyrights and patents; to render the post-office a self-supporting department; to provide for the election of the Executive and the Legislative body, and the organisation of the Supreme Court. In all these provisions, the Constitution of the United States is copied almost literally, section by section. The great departures, and we will add, the great *improvements*, consist in extending the term of the President's office to six years, instead of four, prohibiting his re-election; and the retention in office of all government *employés*, except Cabinet and Foreign Ministers, during life or good behaviour. It is hardly too much to say that these last reforms, had they been seasonably adopted as "amendments" to the Constitution of the United States, would have saved the Union for at least the remainder of the present century. Unscrupulous scheming for re-election by the party in power, and the quadrennial scramble of half a million office-seekers for the feast of Federal "loaves and fishes," has done more to demoralise the people and to destroy the Republic than all the animosities engendered by anti-slavery agitation

and sectional legislation combined. We should not forget to add one more improvement adopted by the framers of the new Constitution, and that is—the right of Cabinet Ministers to hold seats in Congress for the purpose of defending their measures.

The theory of government, it will be readily seen, is identical in the Northern and Southern Constitutions. Both are thoroughly democratic, and both are predicated, not only on the capacity of the people for self-government, but on the “inalienable and indefeasible right” of the people to elect their own rulers, to make their own laws, and we may add, to break them also, whenever it suits their sovereign will and pleasure. The history of empires, ancient and modern, both of monarchies and republics, may be adduced to prove the fact that among the “reserved rights” of the people, as well as of States, the “right of revolution” is as indubitable and as practicable as the “right of the strongest.” While the lion of Democracy sleeps, or merely feeds and fattens, you may bind him with pack-thread, or even accept his quiescence for obedience; but when once aroused by hunger or rage, what to him are legal ties or constitutional restraints when conscious of his strength to break or evade them? Not until

that Utopian dream of the prophet is fulfilled—"when the lion shall lie down with the lamb and a little child shall lead them"—may we expect that a people can be governed simply by reverence for written constitutions or respect for statute laws. Fear, not love ; interest, not loyalty,—are the reins that rule the masses.

But it is not our purpose to speculate upon theories of Government, nor to discuss the comparative merits of Monarchism and Republicanism. The Federal Constitution of the United States has been able to stand the test of three quarters of a century. By resorting occasionally to the "amendment" safety valve, it has withstood the wear and tear of foreign wars and internal rebellions : the war with England, the war with Mexico ; the Whisky rebellion, the Dorr rebellion, "Burr's Conspiracy," the plottings of the Hartford Convention, the annexation of Texas, the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas difficulty, and other great questions which rocked the Republic from centre to circumference ; and even now, while undergoing the fiery trial of civil war on a scale of magnitude that the world has never before witnessed, there is no reason for pronouncing the Constitution a failure, or the Republic a mistake. The fault is not so much in the system of Government



as in the mode of administration. And it cannot be too often repeated, that the war now in progress is not a war waged for a change in the form of Government ; but simply for an independent administration of the *same form* by *friendly hands*.

With the exception of the few important alterations we have noticed, the Constitution of the Confederate States retains the very letter and spirit of its prototype in all the essential provisions for constituting a Government. These alterations have been acknowledged as "improvements" by many Northern writers ; and it has even been suggested that the North should propose to end the war and restore the Union by adopting the Confederate Constitution in place of its own, or by adding all the improvements of the new Constitution to the amendments of the old one. But even this concession would not satisfy the South (with the Confederate Administration included), who are unanimously and inexorably resolved never again to associate with their enemies as members of the same political family. In carefully considering the merits of the Confederate Constitution, we find but one prominent objectionable feature, and that is, the retention of the old system of choosing the President and Vice-

President by that clumsy go-between body styled the "Electoral College,"—an undemocratic mode of election, which deprives the people of the pleasant privilege of voting *direct* for the candidate of their choice. These Presidential electors are chosen by the people of the several States, in number equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which each State is entitled. The State of New York for instance, with its thirty-five Congressional representatives and two United States senators, must have thirty-seven Presidential electors, who are chosen by ballot by the people. These electors meet on a subsequent day, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President. On the meeting of Congress the vote of each State is opened in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, when the result of the election is officially declared. It is enough to say, in condemnation of this system, that the "electors" *may* betray their trust, and thereby thwart the will of the people. It would be simpler, safer, and much more satisfactory to the people, to cast their votes direct for the President; and as to any practical objections against this mode of election, we confess that we have neither been able to discover nor to imagine them. Let us take, for example, the experience

of the United States. We find as a general rule two, and only two great political parties in the field—the party in Power, and the party in Opposition, struggling to get into power ; or, to borrow the names of the moment, Republicans and Democrats. The division runs through all the States, and draws its line through every city, town, village, and hamlet, often arraying against each other “two of the same household.” As the time for the Presidential election approaches, party lines are drawn close, and party spirit runs high. Each man’s preference is to be ultimately and effectively declared by his vote. To deposit a ballot for the candidate of his choosing, or of his party’s choosing, is the one object to be secured; and the *modus operandi*, according to the system we have suggested, is simply this : each State sends delegates to the National Convention, Republican and Democratic, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency ; then on the day of election each voter may cast his ballot for the nominee of his party, although this may not always happen to be the man of his choice. Few individuals can ever reasonably hope to see their personal favourites Presidents. This mode of election would do away with the “Electoral College,” an unnecessary wheel in the machinery

of Government, which one half of the people do not understand, and the other half can give no good reason for retaining.

As the Southern Constitution provides that "by the demand of three States legally assembled in their several Conventions, the Congress shall summon a Convention of all the States to take into consideration such amendments to the Constitution as the said States shall concur in suggesting," there will not be much difficulty in getting constitutionally rid of this fifth-wheel-to-a-coach encumbrance of the "Electoral College." That being done, we have no fault to find with the Constitution of the Confederacy *as it is*. Admitting the theory of self-government upon which this Constitution is founded to be the best possible system for "promoting the greatest good of the greatest number," we know not where to look for anything wiser or freer in the shape of an organic instrument of Government. It contains the saving element of English Conservatism, strained, as it were, through the hands of Washington and Hamilton, with a liberal infusion of the Democracy of France administered by Jefferson, Madison, and Munroe. Conservative, yet elastic, it restrains, without oppressing; and protects, without infringing the equal rights and liberties of an

equal people. It is eminently calculated in every provision and feature to "establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, and to secure the blessings of liberty" to present and future generations ; "a combination and a form" of Government that the proudest citizen of the Confederacy may be equally proud to administer or support, to execute or obey. ESTO PERPETUA.

## UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

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THE Civil War which has now been raging in the United States for nearly fifteen months with ever-increasing fierceness and fury, is a calamity so enormous and so threatening, that all the thinking world may well be occupied with its causes and its cure. It is not a war between rival nations ; not a conflict between different races and religions ; nor a contest between superior and inferior civilisation. It is simply and literally a family quarrel, a fratricidal fight, proverbially the worst and wickedest of all. The readers of "Fraser" have been told by eminent authority that the great struggle now going on in America is simply a strife between freedom and slavery ; the spirit of good contending with the spirit of evil ; and that the seceded States of the South are fighting for the profits of the slave-trade, for the extension of slavery, and for "the privilege of burning human beings alive !" Surely, if


this were true, it would be the duty of all Christian nations to take active part with the North in subjugating, or even annihilating, so barbarous a people. The same writer asserts that the South ostentatiously proclaims its purpose to be that of slavery propagandism, but does not state when, or where, or by what authority such a purpose was proclaimed ; while he omits to mention that one of the very first acts of the Confederate Legislature *abolished for ever the African slave trade*. It is true, the South claimed equal rights with the North in the common territories of the United States ; and had this claim, so long urged and so logically established, been granted and guarded by a law of Congress, there is no doubt but the war would have been avoided, or at least postponed. Such, we happen to know, is the opinion of the late leading Southern senators at Washington, who are now leaders of the "Great Rebellion" in the field. Vice-President Breckenridge, Senators Mason, Benjamin, Slidell, and Jefferson Davis, demanded nothing more than this simple Federal guarantee of "Equal Rights in the Territories." The North refused what is considered a concession (although there can be no concession in a case of abstract right), and a hundred thousand human lives have

already been sacrificed to its inexorable decision. We do not stop to count the cost in dollars and cents, nor to consider the wide-spreading disaster consequent upon the destruction of the equilibrium of the whole commercial world. Was the North wise—was it *right* in refusing these demands of the South? Upon this question hangs the whole merit of the controversy, and all the justice and equity of the conflict. In order to judge more intelligently and correctly as to the rights and wrongs involved in the strife, we must first consider who and what constituted the authority of these war-making Powers. To this end let us look a little analytically into the Federal Congress at Washington; and see of what material the “assembled wisdom of the nation” is composed. And here we come at once to the root of all the evil, or rather to the result of the great underlying evil, *Unrestricted Suffrage*, which has rent the American Union asunder, and threatens to topple “the Model Republic” into a hopeless heap of ruins. Was this war the will of the people? And is the voice of the people the voice of God?

To both of these questions we give a most emphatic denial. The war was the work of demagogues, and Universal Suffrage the instru-



ment they used to bring it about. Had the question of equal rights in the territories been submitted to the unbiassed judgment of the native-born male citizens of the United States over twenty-one years of age, who could read the Constitution of the United States, there can be no doubt but an overwhelming vote would have been given in favour of the South. And yet a majority of the so-called representatives of the people, in their legislative capacity, vote adversely to the claims and interests of the South, and secession, resistance, and open war are the logical and inevitable consequences. The Government of the country fails to embody and express the wisdom of the country, or even to enact the will of the people. We therefore venture the assertion that a Government based upon unrestricted suffrage can never be permanent; and that absolute or unlimited Democracy is a failure. The experiment has been often tried, and always with the same disastrous results. The Athenians tried it; the Romans tried it; the French tried it; and the last and grandest attempt of all is likely to prove the most signal failure of all. Democracy, or self-government, is very beautiful in theory; but it does not work well in practice. It starts upon the fundamental fallacy that "the voice





of the people is the voice of God ;” that a majority of numbers, without regard to brains, have a divine right to rule. No dogma is more dangerous, not to say absurd. Does any one believe that the populace of London to-day, if absolute free choice were given it, would elect its wisest and best citizen to be its chief magistrate ? In the United States, free suffrage has failed to elevate the nation’s greatest and best men to be the nation’s rulers. Clay and Webster fell short of the White House ; and there is no better epitaph for the tomb of the former than his own proud words : “ I would rather be right than be President.”

Of all the causes which have been named as leading to the civil war in America, the ballot-box is the most radical and powerful. In the city of New York, for instance, where in the year 1857 no less than 183,000 emigrants were landed from all parts of Europe, consisting largely of that miscellaneous class of vagabonds, paupers, and culprits “ who leave their country for their country’s good,” the annual access of what is called the “ foreign vote,” is sufficient to turn the scale in favour of the party that wins it either by purchase or palaver. It is true that a residence of five years is required to make an “ adopted citizen ;” but the political

wire-pullers of New York, in the heat of party excitement, do not stick at any little informalities of the law that stand in the way of success ; and where there is no system of registration, there is little difficulty in stuffing the ballot-boxes, and deciding the elections with the illegal votes of these ignorant aliens. And thus Democracy is demoralised, and all the most sacred rights of citizenship trifled with and trampled on. In the empire city of New York, the vote of Mr. Astor, the richest man in America (worth 40,000,000 dollars *before* the war, probably 20,000,000 dollars to-day), is nullified by some raw and ragged emigrant who cannot even speak the American language, whose "politics" are bought for a glass of rum, and who does not know or care whether he is voting for General Jackson or the Fourth of July! In the Athenian city of Boston, the vote of Mr. Everett, who is not only a citizen of wealth, but who represents the learning, the refinement, and the legislative wisdom of New England, is also neutralised by a ballot cast by some newly-arrived fugitive from justice, escaped convict, parish pauper, or Italian organ-grinder, who knows little more of the questions at issue than the diminutive mute that dances to his music.

It is not strange that the better class of citizens at the North have become so disgusted with the scenes at the polls—the crowding, screaming, bullying, and fighting—that a majority of gentlemen avoid altogether the noise and confusion of “election day,” letting the mob, or rather the demagogues who control it, have their own way in all municipal, state, and national affairs. There is shameful truth, as well as scathing satire, in the familiar injunctions of the partisan press, repeated in large letters on the morning of the election, “Vote early, and vote *often*!” It is no uncommon thing for squads of “roughs” to go from poll to poll, particularly in the “Bloody Sixth Ward” of New York, and boast at night of the number of illegal ballots they have cast. Of the 125,000 voters in the “Empire City,” not one-fifth are owners of real estate; and of the entire body of aldermen and councilmen, not one in five pays taxes. And these are the Solons who make laws for the city, levying and disbursing a revenue of some 20,000,000 dollars a year. Can we wonder that, under such a system, or rather no system, the lowest pettifoggers are elected judges, and convicted criminals to offices of the highest honour and emolument! American congresses and American chief magistrates

are the legitimate fruits of free suffrage. The result is war instead of peace, folly instead of wisdom. No one conversant with the history of the United States can deny the fact, that the character of its public men has rapidly deteriorated from the days of Washington down to the present. In the Federal Congress we look in vain for men like Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and Wright ; while the governors of States are far inferior in talent, education, and social standing to their "Excellencies" of yore. Governor Morgan, of New York, is a successful grocer ; Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, a wealthy cotton-spinner ; and Governor Andrew, of Boston, an "active politician." Men who truckle to the masses ride into power on some popular hobby of the moment : now it is Abolitionism, now Teetotalism, and now Radicalism under some of its Protean forms ; politicians become "plenty as blackberries," while statesmen are rarer than diamonds : "wealth accumulates and men decay," loyalty is lost in lust for power ; and even party organisations—to quote the words of a famous partisan leader of the South—are only held together by "the cohesive power of public plunder." When the United States grew to be an incoherent congeries of thirty-four "independent sovereignties," with



their thirty-four independent legislatures, all the creatures of free suffrage, with a Federal Congress composed of politicians of the same calibre, it is not surprising that discord, disagreement, and disruption should follow, especially when we consider the incompatibility of interests and institutions between the Northern and the Southern States.

It is always easier to trace the causes of evil than to point out the remedy ; but the lesson of all history is quite conclusive in regard to the utter impracticability of unrestricted suffrage. If the wisdom, the intelligence, and the benevolence of the State are entitled to rule the State, surely we shall not find them in the popular voice of the masses. Ten righteous men, we are told, might have saved from destruction the "cities of the plain ;" and we believe that ten of the wisest men of the United States would have saved the Union, had their counsels been heeded a year and a half ago ; spared all the fraternal blood that has been wasted in this unholy war ; and so conciliated and pacificated the people, that the opposing sections of the Republic might have lived on in harmony through a millennium of prosperity and peace. But "madness ruled the hour," and the golden opportunity was lost for ever. The "Reso-

lutions" introduced by Mr. Crittenden, the Nestor of the Senate, who pleaded with eloquent tears that the olive-branch instead of the sword should be used in bringing back an offended and rebellious people; and whose white hairs should have been respected like a sacred flag of truce by the rampant passions of angry and belligerent sections—the "Crittenden Resolutions," which would have satisfied the demands of the South without compromising the honour or the interests of the North, were given to the winds, and "the last argument of tyrants" was adopted. The thoughtful and reasonable men of the nation suggested a Convention "fresh from the people," composed of two or more citizens of each State, to devise measures of harmony and reconciliation. But they were unheeded.

As an evidence that the Conservative men of the North were strongly in favour of conciliation, of saving the Union without coercing the South, a single fact is worth more than volumes of mere assertion. When these resolutions were pending before Congress, and while the voluntary Peace Convention was being held in Washington, there happened to be at the same time, in the same city, a national meeting of railroad officers and directors. The Hon. Mr. Corning, M.C. of Albany, a man of large wealth, and a

leading democratic politician, was chosen chairman of this meeting. In order to ascertain more thoroughly the feeling of the class of people throughout the country whose material interests were then under special consideration, Mr. Corning telegraphed to the president of every railroad company in the United States for his vote on the Crittenden Resolutions ; and from this large number of responsible and intelligent men, whose various incorporations extended over an aggregate distance of 32,000 miles of railroad, representing a capital of 1,000,000,000 dollars, only two votes were cast against Mr. Crittenden's proposition for a peaceful and bloodless settlement of the great sectional, social, and political controversy. Could the votes of the judges, the lawyers, the clergy, the presidents of colleges, have been similarly taken at that moment, there would doubtless have been an overwhelming voice for peace. Even the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln, we are assured, had decided on withdrawing the Federal troops from Fort Sumter, in the harbour of Charleston, after the formal secession of South Carolina, in the hope that negotiation might follow, resulting in an amicable restoration of the Union. The masses, however, who had nothing at stake, and the demagogues and



speculators who had everything to make by the war, proved too strong for the calmer counsels of the Senate, or the more prudent policy of the Government. The Commissioners of the South were refused a hearing at the White House. Fort Sumter was taken, and the greatest and most disastrous civil war the world has ever witnessed was begun. When and how it will end, it is not our present purpose to predict; that it might and would have been avoided under a system of limited suffrage, is the great fact we would now impress upon the framers of republics and the advocates of democratic institutions. When the cry went through the North that the "stars and stripes had been insulted," and that volunteers were wanted to protect the capital, 50,000 idle boys, unemployed men, and vagabond "voters" in the city of New York (that great reservoir of the refuse of nations), rushed to the recruiting office, clamorous for war and—"rations." Wiser men remonstrated against this sudden madness, recommending the Federal administration to take an attitude of patient firmness, softened by paternal forbearance; to do anything in reason, or what, in the excitement of the moment might seem unreason, to prevent the shedding of fraternal blood.

Again the "still small voice" of wisdom was



utterly lost in the storm. A vindictive feeling was aroused ; the policy of coercion was inaugurated ; while 600,000 men were ordered to the field to contend with a host of equal numbers that had sprung spontaneously to arms in defence of their soil, their families, and their firesides ; or, in the historical language of the patriots of the revolution, to consecrate to the cause "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour." This Northern army, we have high authority for stating, is composed of forty-one per cent. of Irish and Germans, to say nothing of other alien nationalities ; while the ranks of the Southern army are almost entirely filled with citizens "to the manor born." It is free suffrage that has demoralised the Government ; involved the nation in domestic war ; and, if it be not greatly restricted, the days of the American Republic will be soon numbered. How can this great family of States, with opposing interests, dwell together in unity, when a Massachusetts cotton manufacturer, by the aid of his employés, may counterbalance the votes of a whole township of Mississippi planters—the former voting for high tariffs, and the latter for free-trade ?

The question then arises, whether the people, under any circumstances, are capable of self-

government ; in other words, whether Republics are possible. Making a proper distinction between the people and the masses, between the citizens and the populace, we answer decidedly in the affirmative. Under a wise system of restricted suffrage, guarded by careful registration laws, a Republican form of government, resting upon the consent of the governed, is not a mere Utopian dream, born of Platonic optimism, but a pleasant and practical reality. It is a fundamental dogma of democracy, that all power springs from the people ; and that the power to govern implies the right to govern. The great error consists in confounding the people with the mob ; the citizen who has an interest in the State, with the individual who merely inhabits it. The former only has a right to take part in the Government, either in framing or in executing the public laws. All other persons should be treated as minors. Let the right of suffrage be limited to men worthy of so sacred a trust ; and let no man have a vote in the State who cannot read and write the language of the State ; and who has not some pecuniary interest in the public welfare. With these two qualifications of property and education, a people may be safely trusted to govern themselves. A native-born American does not

inherit the right of franchise until he attains his majority, at the age of twenty-one years ; and long before that time he may be a soldier in the army, a graduate of the university, a member of the bar, or a preacher of the Gospel. The unnaturalised foreigner should at least remain long enough on probation to learn the language of the country, and to acquire some interest in the State, some knowledge of its institutions, before being permitted, by right of suffrage, to dispose of the property and the liberty of the country that protects and supports him.

In the earlier days of the American Republic, when land was plenty and hands were scarce ; when the Virgin soil of the New World was yearning to be tilled, and primeval forests were waiting to be felled, the broad arms of the United States were opened wide to welcome to its capacious bosom refugees and emigrants from all quarters of the globe. The tree of American liberty, in the figurative language of the aborigines, filled the heavens and sheltered the earth ; while under its protecting branches inexhaustible Nature spread her bounteous feast in this new and magnificent “ asylum for the oppressed.” Political restraints were little needed to keep a contented people in order ; and un-

limited suffrage was considered essential to the dream of universal freedom and social equality. Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine inaugurated the *Age of Reason* and radicalism by inculcating the fallacious doctrine—the cornerstone of the “Declaration of Independence”—that “all men are born free and equal;” and this, too, while recognising property in slaves, and reckoning them as a basis of representation! Why the framers of the Constitution were not sufficiently logical to allow a man to cast a vote on an equal amount of property invested in horses, oxen, or other beasts of burden, has never been satisfactorily explained by the democratic doctors; and it is a question which may try their logical acumen to answer.

It is a fact never to be lost sight of, that the citizens of the Southern States, while nominally democratic, have always been more conservative politically, and more aristocratic socially, than the people of the North. In their congressional representation, for instance, which under the Federal Constitution is based upon population merely, the South counts out of its census two-fifths of its negroes; while in the North every coloured person, as well as every individual belonging to the *genus homo*, is counted as part of the population, or congressional constituency.

In other words, a negro at the North rates as one ; at the South as only three-fifths of one. This, of course, gives to the former section a certain advantage of numerical strength, represented in the popular or lower branch of the National Legislature. The Senate, or Upper House of Congress, representing the States rather than the masses (each State, large or small, sending two), has hitherto held in check this surplus subterranean power ; and so long as there existed an equal number of Free and Slave States, the balance of legislation was so equitably adjusted as to keep the peace and preserve the Union. The centripetal force of the Federal Government being equal to the centrifugal tendencies of the States, the whole system continued to revolve in comparative harmony. But when the first star "shot madly from its sphere," the equilibrium was lost, and the whole machinery of the Republic became discordant and dislocated. When the North, from political rather than moral reasons, resolved to admit no more Slave States into the Union, the South took the alarm. With sixteen States against fifteen, thirty-two senators against thirty, they could no longer contend successfully against the tariff policy of New England. This was the beginning of the fight, and Kansas was the

first battle-field. It was not so much the question of slavery as the balance of power in the Senate that imparted such interest and such bitterness to that memorable contest. The Hon. Robert J. Walker, the great champion of free trade, who was appointed by President Buchanan as governor of Kansas, cared not so much for the extension of slavery as for the triumph of his favourite theory. He wanted the two senatorial votes of the incoming State to be cast with the South in favour of free trade, his infallible panacea for all domestic ills and international misunderstandings. The Democratic party of the North, professedly an anti-tariff party, and friendly to Southern agricultural interests, deserted its banners in the hour of trial, and voted for protection to every local interest; the New England democrat, for discrimination in favour of his manufactures; the Pennsylvanian, in favour of his iron works. With a radical spirit in the National Presidential Convention, the democrats were defeated in the election; although there was a popular majority against Lincoln, thrown away on Douglas and Breckenridge, of more than one million of votes! Another conclusive evidence that the will of the people was not expressed in the inauguration of the Republican President.

And yet no one can deny the constitutionality of his election ; or that individual opposition to his executive authority on the part of a citizen of the United States is anything less than rebellion, or even treason. The opposition of "sovereign and independent States" to the decrees of the Federal Government is quite another question ; but whether this resistance, open or secret, armed or unarmed, on the part of the State, is rebellion, revolution, treason, or simply the exercise of a "reserved right," we do not now propose to inquire. The great body of the people of the South have evidently been educated to believe in the right, even in the *duty* of secession ; and it must be confessed they are fighting heroically in vindication of their faith. Mr. Calhoun, the great logician of South Carolina, during his long career in the Federal Senate, seldom made a speech or a motion in which he did not strongly inculcate the doctrine of State rights ; and Mr. Calhoun was not only the political leader of the statesmen of the South : he was the instructor and the authority of the people. He taught allegiance to the State as the first of political duties ; and his pupils in the Senate of 1861 could only retire from their seats on learning that the States from which they had received



their commissions were no longer members of the Union.

To return to our theme ; let us glance a little more closely at the operations of the unlimited suffrage system, on the broad field of a "presidential campaign," formerly the great political Olympiad, now the quadrennial Saturnalia of the United States. In the local elections of towns, districts, and States, we find the elements of this all-pervading evil at work, but on comparatively a limited scale. In the grand race for the White House behold the political "Derby day" of the "great republic!" All the passions of the mob are let loose ; freedom runs into lawlessness, and liberty riots in licentiousness. Every partisan blackleg bets his "pile" upon his favourite ; and every political prostitute has something to win or lose on the result. The stakes are large, the struggle desperate, and the cheating reckless. The winning party not only has four years in the White House, clothed with supreme executive authority, and 25,000 dollars a-year ; he has also the making of his cabinet, the appointment of his foreign ministers, and the distribution of one hundred thousand salaried offices ; to say nothing of the patronage of 100,000,000 dollars a year in time of peace ; and 1,000,000,000 in time of war ! And every

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four years, or twenty times since the formation of the American Government, has this whirlwind of passion, like a tropical tornado, swept over the land, its momentum increasing with the tide of population, until the rocking of thirty millions of excited people, like Atlantic waves lashed into madness by the fury of opposing winds, threatens to upheave the very foundations of the Republic.

A presidential canvas in the United States—who that has witnessed its orgies, from the noisy and sulphurous announcement of the candidate's nomination, to the drunken huzzas that hail his election, can need any further illustration of the degrading and dangerous effects of universal suffrage ; or fail to foresee in these riotous and gambling elections, not only the instability of republican institutions, but the utter impossibility of their permanent duration ? Poor-house paupers and bar-room loafers sell their votes for money, for grog, for the promise of a place, or a contract under Government ; and thus the masses become debauched, while unprincipled demagogues, through bribery and corruption, rise scum-like, to the surface, there to float and sparkle awhile, like rotten mackerel, upon the dirty current of “popular favour.”

In the new Confederate Constitution, the

superior conservatism of the South has signally shown itself by extending the presidential term to six years, and by making the chief magistrate ineligible to re-election. The latter provision especially is an improvement of the most vital importance. With either of these literally saving clauses in the Federal Constitution, the disrupted Union might have been maintained half a century longer, even against the undermining and debasing influence of free suffrage. In illustration of the re-election evil, let us look, for example, at the administration of Mr. Buchanan, to be known in history as the last completed administration of the united and unsevered States. "Old Buck," as his partisans delighted to call him (there must always be a low nickname for a successful candidate, to tickle "the ears of the groundlings"—such as "Old Hickory," "Old Rough and Ready," "Old Abe," &c. &c.), was a professional politician from his boyhood, who had his eye on the presidential chair for at least a quarter of a century before he filled it. During all this period of public life, in the senate, in the cabinet, and as minister to foreign courts, it is no injustice to charge him, in the technical language of his party, with "pulling wires," and "laying pipes" for the presidency. We will not stop to

explain the process of these political manipulations, which our American readers will so readily understand, beyond stating the fact that the chief end and aim of the aspirant to that high honour is to secure votes, or strength, as it is called, by becoming popular with the masses. And how is this to be done? By taking a high tone in morals and in politics? By wearing clean linen and cultivating good manners? By no means. This is not the way to reach the hearts of the "unwashed democracy," nor to win the "sweet voices" of the dear people. The demagogue must stoop very low to conquer. He must dive deep in order to fly high. The vote of the drunken beggar is worth just as much as that of the respectable millionaire, and is much easier to be had. Soiled shirt bosoms, cheap rum, "quids" of tobacco, and vulgar language will win more partisans at the poll than the most gentlemanly appearance, the most courteous behaviour, or the most beautiful "platform of principles." With no intention of casting any reflection upon the honesty or ability of President Lincoln, we will hazard the assertion, in illustration of our subject, that his reputation for "rail-splitting" and flat-boating, with the "electioneering anecdotes" of his coarse habits and vulgar familiarity, did

more to promote his election than all the newspaper praise of his "honesty."

To return to Mr. Buchanan. In an evil hour for the Republic, the dream of his life was realized. Managing to secure the nomination of his party in the National Convention at Cincinnati, he triumphed over Fremont in 1856, and became President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1857. We will not look into the antecedents of Mr. Buchanan's personal or political life, except to observe the fact, that while representing his Government as minister to England, the notorious Daniel E. Sickles was his chosen secretary and bosom friend. Mr. Buchanan was a conspicuous advocate of the Democratic South, without whose vote he never could have been President. He not only countenanced and connived at, but encouraged secession ; and Sickles was his faithful satellite and reflector. But now, while "Old Buck" retires in sad obscurity to the solitary shades of Wheatland, the Young Buck, as a Lincoln brigadier, is seeking to atone for the errors of the past by covering himself with gold lace and glory in a war of subjugation against the South. There is an old saying, that, as one murder makes an assassin, a thousand murders may make a hero.

Having introduced Mr. Buchanan to illustrate the evils of re-election, let us return to him as the world saw him on the morning of his inauguration, with the solemn oath of the Chief Magistracy of the United States solemnly administered by the venerable Chief Justice Taney, in the portico of the Capitol, before a countless multitude of living witnesses ; and, more impressive still, in the majestic and monitory presence of the marble forms of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Munroe—the fathers and founders of the Republic ; inspired by all the sacred souvenirs of the past ; enhaloed by all the brilliant promise of the future. The Man thus honoured with the highest position, the most responsible trust in the gift of a great people, stands upon the topmost round of the political ladder, upon the very summit of his personal ambition. He can climb no more, as there is nothing now to reach between him and the stars ; nothing material left to sigh for ; nothing but glory, honour, and fame to achieve in the everlasting praise of a grateful nation. Had the Constitution wisely closed his official hopes with the end of his official term, no one can doubt that Mr. Buchanan would have proved a better President, left his office with a better name, and to his country and his successor a

better heritage. Scheming for re-election ruined his administration, destroyed his party, dis-severed the Union. He selected his Cabinet, not so much for the fitness of the men nominated as Secretaries, as to reward sections of country that had done most for him in the past, and promised to do still more for him in the future. All the appointments were made, from the highest to the lowest, and all the enormous patronage of the Government was distributed, with a single eye, not merely to a continuance of his party in power, but to the continuance of the Administration—the re-election of Mr. Buchanan ; and every office-holder in the United States was conspiring with his Chief to accomplish this object, and thus retain his place. This single fact explains why so many pothouse politicians, instead of true and honest men, are appointed to offices of honour and emolument, both at home and abroad. A New York rowdy who can influence a large number of votes, no matter by what means, must be conciliated and secured for future services, as well as indemnified for the past. Penny-a-liners, too, who puff every act of the Administration *ad nauseam*, must also have their mess of potage ; and thus it is that we find Secretaries at Foreign Courts, not to say Ministers, who are not only unable

to speak the language of the country to which they are accredited, but who, from lack of good breeding and the frequenting of good society at home, neither speak the language nor exhibit the manners of gentlemen. The better class of Americans in Europe often blush at the facts we are stating. It is said that no less than seven employés of the "New York Tribune" have received appointments under Lincoln, because the editor of that journal takes the credit of making Mr. Lincoln President. Mr. Greeley having had a private quarrel with his old "guide, philosopher, and friend," Seward, defeats him in the Convention at Chicago, and nominates the "Illinois Rail-splitter" instead of the New York statesman! If it be true, as some have declared, that the election of Mr. Seward would have saved the country from war, then we fear the famous bran-bread, non-resistance editor of the "Tribune" must have something disagreeable on his hands, which "all great Neptune's flood" cannot wash off. We envy no man his dreams who has had any hand, direct or indirect, in bringing about this most horrible and unholy war.

Another saving clause in the more conservative constitution of the Confederacy, provides against the removal of office-holders under the



government, "except for cause." This puts an effectual stop to the general scramble for place at every new election of President, and enforces a better performance of official duties. At the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, when a change of parties in power as well as Presidents took place, it is estimated that there were not less than a million of applicants for the hundred thousand civil offices to be disposed of,—ten seekers for each place ; and out of this swarm of hungry cormorants for every appointment there must follow at least nine disappointments. The summoning of half a million, possibly a whole million of men, to arms, placed in the hands of the President a military patronage far greater than that of the civil list. There were epaulettes to be conferred, and captains, majors, colonels, and generals to be created by thousands. There were also "fat contracts" to be given out, and Government jobs of such vast magnitude, affording such rare opportunities for large profits and "stealings," as to tempt even the cupidity of the parsons, who had long ago lost the sense of their "high calling" by preaching party politics rather than the Christianity of Christ, to come down into the ring of competition, put in their bids, and, when successful, sell out at enormous gains. Contractors,

speculators, jobbers, and sutlers swarmed like locusts, literally "devouring the substance of the land." We have seen some of these Government swindlers and "shoddy" contractors in Europe, frightened away from home, perhaps, by the investigating committee of Congress, with their pockets full of money, and their mouths full of cursing and bitterness against the South, the very South which has enabled them to get suddenly rich on the "spoils of war." These speculators in death and destruction are the most noisy and strenuous advocates of the "crushing out" policy; and the "vigorous prosecution of the war." They seem to regard human beings on the other side of "Mason and Dixon's line" as noxious insects, and talk coolly of brushing them into the Gulf of Mexico, or drowning them out, as General Watson Webb recommended, "like rats in a sinking ship, by cutting the levees of the Mississippi!" While widows and orphans are multiplying like the drops of the morning; while a ghastly dew, oozing from human hearts, crimson the green valleys of the sunny South, these conscienceless contractors are as gay and expansive as undertakers thriving on the ravages of the plague. They are ready to die (of a plethora of ill-gotten gains) for the

glorious Union, and cling to the "ship of State" with the same sort of abdominal devotion that a ravenous shark follows an ill-fated vessel freighted with the sick and dying. Several of these patriots are now running over Europe, clamouring against intervention or mediation, or any other humane and Christian measure that might lead to peace, and put an end to this deluge of fraternal blood. These men are always champions of free suffrage, opposers of a registry law, the professed friends and flatterers of the masses ; and they will swear by any party, and "stand by" any Government as long as it continues to feed and fatten them.

Of the ruinous consequences of free suffrage little more remains to be said. Behold the legitimate fruits, as foretold by the far-seeing Webster, "in the broken and dishonoured fragments of a once glorious Union—in States dissevered, discordant, belligerent—in a land rent with civil feud and drenched in fraternal blood." Behold them in the unprecedented outrages of the brutal Butler, whose infamous proclamation against the ladies of New Orleans, licensing his ruffianly soldiers to treat them as harlots for no other offence than the indignant glow of insulted patriotism upon their cheeks, impossible to conceal, which has excited the

contempt, the hate, and the shame of all Europe. Federal officers intrude themselves upon certain ladies at their devotion in church, who immediately rise and leave their pews ; and this is Butler's justification of his savage edict ! Haynau, whose name is damned to eternal infamy, only flogged his female prisoners—Benjamin Franklin Butler, of the city of Lowell, Massachusetts—more refined in cruelty, violates the virtue of the women in his power, and robs them of “the immediate jewel of their soul.”

In the nameless graves of innumerable victims, in thousands of maimed and wounded soldiers, in the long procession of widows and orphans, in desolate homes and in bleeding hearts, we behold a painful harvest of the fruits of the suffrage as it exists in America. All these calamities, with an endless vista of coming woes, have been brought upon a people who, but a few short months ago, were the most free, the most prosperous, and the most lightly taxed people on earth ; and all this comes from trifling with their liberties through the licence of the ballot-box, by placing power in the hands of a monster mob—that hydra of democracy, whose “tender mercies are cruelty,” and whose reign is always a reign of terror and of blood, beginning by repudiating the sacred right of *habeas*

*corpus*, suppressing the freedom of speech and the press, and ending by plunging the nation into hopeless bankruptcy — into fathomless realms of “Chaos and old Night.”

But the fatal consequences of this “unbridled liberty” and gross abuse of the ballot-box do not end, nor even culminate, in the wholesale carnage now raging in the United States, where 1,200,000 men in battle array stand face to face upon the field of death. These soldiers of the Union on one side, and of Independence on the other, who survive the conflict of the war, will become the tools of their leaders at the ballot-box as they have been their followers in the fight ; and a military despotism is the logical consequence of a dis-severed Union and dilapidated Republic. Such is the history of the past ; and such, it requires no prophet to foresee, must be the future destiny of the United States, unless the people instead of the populace—the citizens and not the mob—are restored to power through a restricted and purified system of suffrage.

## WHO IS THE TRAITOR ?

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IN the political judgment of the ruling Powers at Washington, a majority of the entire people of the late United States are TRAITORS.

In the religious belief of the Roman Church, which embraces more than one-half of Christendom, all who live and die without its pale are *heretics*. In all ages and eras, the best and bravest men have been denounced, imprisoned, and hung as traitors by the State ; persecuted, tortured, and put to death as heretics by the Church. So arbitrary has been the power, so fallacious the judgment, and so unjust the sentence of both Church and State, that he who has nothing but a *name* to condemn him, need not fear the verdict of the future, neither in this world nor in that which is to come. Traitor and heretic ! These are the popular epithets which bigotry and intolerance have more than once branded upon names destined to an honourable immortality. The rack, the dungeon, the gallows, and the cross are for ever conse-

crated and exalted above crowns and thrones and sceptres by the heroism they have tested, and the faith they could not shake. Traitor! We have almost come to be thankful to tyranny for that word. In recalling to mind the "noble army of martyrs" who have worn it burnt upon their foreheads, we must accept it as a title of honour and not of shame. As no Protestant Christian, worthy of the name, will blush to be called a heretic, so no true patriot, whose love for Rome is greater than his love for Cæsar, feels disgraced on being stigmatized as a traitor. And yet it is a bad and hateful word when rightly applied, and our present purpose is to examine the justice of its indiscriminate application by the people of the United States to the people of the Confederate States. We propose to make a careful research for the real traitor, and when found, to try him, sentence him, and punish him according to law and the best of our ability.

It is necessary, in the first place, to define the term. What is the meaning of the word so often and so indiscriminately used? A political traitor, a traitor in the impartial "eye of the Law," is one who commits the crime of treason, a crime against the State. In what does this crime consist?—in words written or

spoken ? The Constitution of the United States says no, not in words ; words are mere air—let them be free as air in speech and in print. Treason is an overt *act* against the Government. We quote the letter of the law. “Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.”

It will be very natural for the hasty reader to “jump to a conclusion” through the following easy process of reasoning :—The people of the Southern States have committed the “overt act” of treason against the United States by “levying war against them ;” hence they are traitors, deserving the name and the punishment of traitors. Not quite so fast. The logic is facile, but fallacious ; and to consider this question thoroughly, we must come down to the very root of the great controversy—the origin and nature of State and Federal relations. In looking at the causes which have led to the civil war in America, we must never for a moment lose sight of the fundamental fact, that the politicians and the people of the United States are divided into two great classes, one



believing in the sovereignty of the State, the other in the supremacy of the Federal Government. The former are Secessionists, and the latter Unionists ; and there is not only a wide, but a radical and irreconcilable difference between them. The believer in the legal right of secession considers allegiance to his State to be his highest political obligation. It is the government nearest to him ; he feels its protection, and sees its operation. It is something palpable and paternal, while the power of the Federal Government seems remote and cold, heartless and useless, like the sceptic's Deity, "sitting outside the Universe, and seeing it go on." If the sentiment of loyalty exist in the United States, it is given to the individual all-embracing State, rather than to the overshadowing Union.

Rebellion against State authority in America is as rare as the unnatural crime of matricide for which the Greek ancients deemed it unnecessary to provide a law. When secession was threatened in the Senate Chamber at Washington, "I go with my State," was the declaration of every Southern senator ; while the sons of the South scattered over the world in the military, naval, and diplomatic service of the Union, hastened home to fight for the State

that gave them birth, and that contained the ashes of their fathers. These are the men who are denounced by President Lincoln as *traitors*, and who are lauded by President Davis as *patriots*. Which is right—Davis or Lincoln ? Could this question be submitted to-day to the test of a popular vote in all the late United States, we have no doubt that the result would be an overwhelming answer in favour of the Southern President. The unanimous vote of the Confederate States, a large majority of the Border States, and nearly half of the Northern States, would eagerly pronounce in favour of Davis. Who, then, is the traitor, if the question is to be decided by the voice of the majority ? But this, it may be said, is merely an opinion, and to many a fallible and offensive one. Give us facts : and this we propose to do by referring to the public acts and characters of our antagonistic heroes—the Chiefs of the two Republics.

In considering the public acts of presidents, we include all the measures, both legislative and executive, instituted or sanctioned by their Administrations. As Mr. Lincoln is ambitious of following the example of General Jackson, in language, at least, by continually declaring that he “takes the responsibility,” we must hold him


accountable for all the acts of all his agents, military and civil ; from cabinet minister to provost-marshal ; for the orders of Secretary Seward filling the bastiles with suspected traitors ; and for the vindictive caprice of Policeman Kennedy, thrusting his victims into loathsome prison cells, to be tortured by the vilest of vermin. We hold Abraham Lincoln responsible to humanity, and to humanity's God, for all the blood that has been shed in this unholy war ; for every life and limb that has been lost ; for every widow and orphan that has been bereft ; for the brutalities of Butler, and the outrages of Turchin ; and for all the unappreciable agonies of half a million of wounded and dying men. Mr. Lincoln likes to "take the responsibility !" Let him look on his work, and sleep after it if he can. One pacific word from Abraham Lincoln's lips on the 4th of March, 1861, and there would have been no war. And yet he likes to "take the responsibility !" Then let truthful history pile it on him mountains high ; and let it sink him where it will. Not only has he no law or precedent to vindicate his actions, but every step he has taken, from the day of his inauguration, has been in direct violation of the Constitution which he "solemnly swore to protect, preserve, and defend," under the tyrant's

convenient plea of necessity. And yet we do not mean to say that Abraham Lincoln is the very worst of men, nor even that he is a very bad man ; on the contrary, we will admit that he is "honest as this world goes." It is the President, and not the man, that is to be arraigned, indicted, and, if found guilty, condemned by the public opinion of the world, and by all impartial historians of this most unnatural and atrocious war. The accident of his election placed him in a position of fearful power, and still more fearful responsibility. President Lincoln could and should have said, after having taken the solemn oath of office which consecrated him as the Chief Executive of the United States, "No, I cannot and I will not attempt to coerce these disaffected States. They are sovereign and independent Powers ; and I find no authority in the Constitution to justify the employment of force in the effort to subjugate them. Such a course would be not only unconstitutional, but impolitic ; not only a violation of my sacred oath of office, but contrary to the first principles of republicanism, contrary to the wisest dictates of humanity ; and, above all, contrary to the precepts and the commandments of Christianity. Therefore, I will not, Pharaoh-like, harden my heart against all these pacific

pleadings ; but I will 'take the responsibility,' and *let this people go.*"

Who can now doubt the wisdom and justice of such a conclusion on the part of the newly-installed President on the 4th of March, 1861 ?

But no : the chief executive magistrate of 30,000,000 of people, whose interests and whose lives an inscrutable Providence had placed in his hands, being fatally possessed and controlled by the spirit of Northern fanaticism, "takes the responsibility," decides on using force, not reason ; and the consequences of the great mistake, worse than any crime known to the laws, are now passing in a panorama of blood before the eyes of the world. But, say the Unionists, had he decided otherwise, the Government would have been destroyed, and a state of anarchy would have followed. Not at all. The people of the North were not so rampant for war, but that they would have cheerfully submitted to a pacific policy on the part of the President ; they would have said, he could not do otherwise than obey the Constitution. The great Democratic party of the North, at that time almost equal in strength to the Republican party (we believe it is superior in number *now*), were almost unanimously opposed to coercion ; and many of their ablest organs and most influential leaders were



then, and still are, conscientious and zealous advocates of the abstract right of secession. President Lincoln would have risked nothing and saved everything, by "putting his foot down" the day he came into power, on the firm constitutional ground of State rights and State sovereignty. Then the aggrieved and seceding States would have paused before breaking the Federal tie, and come to an understanding with the North that might have saved the Union from dissolution, and the "swift destruction" that is following it. But it is neither philosophical nor satisfactory to lament over *ifs*, nor to waste unavailing regrets for things that *might* have been. Nations as well as individuals must accept their destiny, and take what comes. What is done cannot be undone; but what is broken may sometimes be mended (though a broken word or a broken oath cannot), and what is wrong may always be righted by due repentance and reformation. To this point the Northern mind seems of late to be hopefully tending; and the hearts of the people seem to be slowly opening to conviction. Suffering and sorrow are doing their wonted work in converting hearts of stone to hearts of flesh. If it can be proved by the record and by the book, by the law and by the testimony, that the North, and

not the South, is guilty of the greater wrong ; that the " arch traitor " to the Constitution who has violated his solemn oath, is to be found in Washington and not in Richmond, a conviction of the fact may possibly lead to the confession and repentance of the criminal.


Let us, then, resume our diligent search for the veritable traitor ; and in so doing, we must take especial care, lest by confounding names with things, or by listening to popular clamour instead of to " the quiet voice " of truth, we get hold of the wrong man ; and, as is too often the case, impale the innocent party upon the gibbet, while the guilty goes " unwhipt of justice."

We will now turn our attention for a moment to Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederate Republic, and " the best abused man in America." Being the head of the " rebel Government," the commander-in-chief of its army and navy, the zealots of the Northern Administration denounce him in all their prayers as an " arch traitor," whose devoted head they are daily hoping to see capping the Liberty Pole of the Federal Capitol. He is anathematized as the ringleader of Secession, the principal instigator of the " great rebellion," the most marked and conspicuous cause of the war. Suppose all this to be true, and that President Davis led the

people, instead of the people leading him, into secession and the secession war, does that make him a traitor, and *the* traitor above all others ? Let us examine a little more carefully the peculiar position of the Confederate President. In 1861, Jefferson Davis was a citizen and a senator of Mississippi. In obeying the voice of the sovereign and independent State to whom his first and final allegiance is due, is he thereby committing treason against the United States ? Can a man serve two masters ? Senator Davis in his seat in the Senate Chamber at Washington, openly acknowledges his faith in the supreme authority of his State, and declares his fealty thereto. She sent him to the Federal Congress to represent her will, and to protect her interests ; and she can recal him to represent and protect her wishes and her honour elsewhere. Mississippi voluntarily joined the association, or alliance, or federation of the Union, believing it at the time to be her interest to do so. She now thinks it her interest to retire ; and claims the same right to go out that she had to come in. The powers *delegated* by her to the Federal Government she withdraws ; no longer wishing to be taxed by the Union, in order to be protected by the Union ; and the agent she appointed she dismisses.



This is a simple business-like way of stating the relation, which every business man can easily understand. Mississippi is a sovereign and independent State, and claims the fidelity and obedience of her citizens, just as the Queen of England claims the allegiance of her subjects. The Federal Government has no such claims ; the Union has no subjects. Mississippi decides on quitting the Union which, instead of a benefit, has become to her a yoke of oppression ; at all events, she thinks so ; and they who bear the burthen are better judges of its weight and pressure than they who impose it. The State secedes *pro formá*, and enters into an alliance with the new Confederacy, for the same general purpose that she joined the old Union, but in the hope of getting on more pleasantly with her more congenial sisters of the South. Mr. Davis, late United States senator, is duly appointed President of the Confederate Republic. He takes the solemn oath of office, in form identical with that administered to President Lincoln, and assumes the discharge of his executive functions and duties. The North declares a war of subjugation against the new alliance, the Government of the Confederate States. What shall President Davis do ; yield or resist, succumb or fight ? Recollect that he has




10,000,000 of people behind him, whose interest he represents, and whose will, embodied in their Constitution, he has solemnly sworn to obey. His own State tells him to fight. The Confederate Congress, repeating the voices of eleven sovereign States, who have committed their lives and their fortunes to his hands, command him to fight ; to fight for their lives and their liberties ; to risk all in the hope of saving all ; to fight "till the last armed foe expires ;" to fight on "to the bitter end ;" to "die in the last ditch ;" and never yield to the invaders of their homes and the violators of their rights. For more than eighteen months, and during the fiery trial of more than a hundred battles, the gallant Chief of the Confederacy has firmly maintained his position as the standard-bearer of the South ; true to his State, true to his people, true to his official oath, and true to all the political principles and professions of his public and his private life. Is the fair and candid reader still disposed to join in the ribald cry of a thoughtless mob, and denounce President Jefferson Davis as a black-hearted traitor, unfit to live, and unworthy of a decent death ? If so, we beg to record an "honest difference of opinion."

The North does not limit its denunciation


to the "arch-traitor" at the head of the Confederate Government; but includes in its anathemas, first, all the members of that Government, its legislators and its executors; and finally, all the people of all the seceded States, who support it either in a civil or military capacity, not even "sparing the women and children." All are indiscriminately branded as traitors, and doomed to be sacrificed to that hollow phantom called the Union!

Or let us see how this contemptuous and damnatory term applies to the leading members of the Confederate Government, most of whom, not two years ago, were honoured with high positions as Governors of their respective States, as senators and representatives of the United States, cabinet and foreign ministers, judges of the courts, &c. &c. We have only to mention a few of these well-known names in order to refute the foul aspersion that is continually cast upon them. Five hundred Northern steam-presses running night and day, and pouring out their endless columns of vulgar epithets upon such honoured names as Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, and John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, cannot change the record of good men's lives. They may call Breckenridge, who lately presided over the Senate of the United



States, and Stephens, who now presides over the Senate of the Confederate States "traitors," until the very echoes are hoarse from repetition of the word; and yet all this "damnable iteration" does not make them traitors, neither in the severe judgment of the law nor in the impartial opinion of the world.

But let us extend the catalogue of these untried, but not unsentenced traitors a little further. Mason and Stuart of Virginia, Ward and Jackson of Georgia, Slidell and Benjamin of Louisiana, Yancey and Clay of Alabama, Bell of Tennessee, Morehead of Kentucky, Sebastian of Arkansas, Westcott of Florida, Badger of North Carolina, Green of Missouri, Boyce of South Carolina, Brown of Mississippi, &c. &c. By what cunning "conjurations and what mighty magic" have these and hundreds of other eminent men and statesmen been so suddenly metamorphosed from patriots into traitors? Men who but yesterday everywhere elicited the huzzas of the crowd where to-day they receive only its execrations! What have these men done worthy of death or of bonds, of the bastille or the gallows? They have simply adhered to their political doctrine of State rights, and proved their life-long loyalty to the principle of State sovereignty. "*I go*"



*with my State,"* was the irrevocable resolution of every Southern statesman, and in the opinion of the people of the South he only who hesitated deserves the name of traitor. But the North, although so absolute in its denunciations of all who breathe the air of Secessia, does sometimes attempt to discriminate a little in regard to the degrees of turpitude to be found in the land of traitordom, and where all is black as midnight, professes to have discovered comparative shades of blackness. For instance, Governor Floyd of Virginia, late United States Secretary of War under President Buchanan, is one of "the double-dyed traitors" whom the Northern press particularly delights to honour with its abuse. And wherefore? Because, they assert, as Secretary of War, foreseeing the Secession conflict, he caused the removal of immense quantities of arms and munitions from Northern to Southern arsenals, thereby placing ready means of resistance in the hands of the States that had already signified their determination to secede in the event of Lincoln's election. We do not allude to these popular allegations against Governor Floyd for the purpose of "putting in a defence," but simply to state the naked fact that has given rise to the noisy accusation. The arms of the United States

being manufactured and imported by the North, had been permitted during a long period of peace to remain in the Northern depôts, instead of being duly distributed among the arsenals of the several States, in accordance with a specified *quota* to which each was entitled, when Secretary Floyd very properly gave the order for the distribution ; and a very timely order it has proved to the South, for which doubtless he has received as much Confederate commendation as Federal censure. On the whole, he is probably satisfied with both, as he is now serving his State and his country as brigadier-general in the Southern army, and answering his assailants with solid blows instead of empty words. If ex-Governor Floyd of Virginia is the blackest of traitors, the people of his State and of the Confederate States evidently do not so regard him. Another signal instance in which "opinions differ," and in which the different names applied to an individual by his friends and by his foes very naturally lead to "a confusion of ideas." On the north side of an invisible line John B. Floyd is an unmitigated traitor ; on the south or sunny side of the aforesaid line, he is an honoured patriot ! The division of their's-breadth makes the mighty differ

the culprit and the hero ! Surely no one need be frightened at a name. The only question is as to the direction and the source from which it comes. Is it a Northern or a Southern tongue or pen that denounces me as a traitor, or praises me as a patriot ? On the one side we may expect hailstones, and on the other showers of roses. The world, like a peach, has two sides to it, and happy is he who manages to live on the sunny half.

In pursuance of our search for the traitor, let us leave for a while such high hiding-places as Executive Chambers and Legislative Halls, and join the Provost-marshal in hunting for his prey elsewhere. Perhaps we may find "the object we are after" ensconced in some editorial *sanctum* ; possibly we may catch a glimpse of him by a glance at our own mirror !

And here, if the reader will pardon the egoism, we will take him at once into our confidence, and "make a clean breast of it" by a personal confession of treason ! But not exactly in "open court," as that, according to the Federal Constitution, would subject us to arrest and imprisonment, perhaps even to Policeman Kennedy's *vermin torture* in "CELL No. 4," three feet by six, in the city of New York—a city whereof we claim to have been a good

and faithful citizen for more than twenty years—obeying and supporting all its laws and ordinances to the “best of our knowledge and belief.”

The “White Republican” (who, being by birth and education a *Republican*, adopts the word “*White*” in order not to be confounded with either the “*Black* Republicans” or the “*Red* Republicans”) will proceed to “confess himself” to the reader frankly and freely, in the “first person singular,” because this form of expression is more familiar and more confidential.

Yes, I am A TRAITOR! I have read the awful sentence in the newspapers, and it made my cheek burn and the blood tingle in my veins—not from any sense of guilt or shame, but from a sudden flash of indignation, from the anger which one may feel “and sin not.”

TRAITOR! Ah, it is an ugly, cruel word—sharp-pointed, and piercing; and when it comes hissing from one’s enemies, whose “mouths are full of cursing and bitterness,” “under whose lips is the poison of asps,” it “biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder,” and it rankles long in the wound it makes, like the barb of a poisoned arrow.

To be a traitor in friendship is a sin, to be a




traitor in love is something worse ; but to sting the bosom that nursed him, to be a traitor to one's own country, is a sort of wholesale crime which comprehends all others. The magnitude of the object at which the offence is aimed seems to magnify the offence itself into overwhelming proportions ; just as the crime of regicide would naturally exaggerate itself to the guilty conscience far beyond that of an ordinary homicide.

Let it not, however, be supposed that I am attempting to depict the fearful character of the crime of treason from any consciousness of ever having committed it, in thought, word, or deed ; but only to show that I have some adequate conception of the enormity of the wrong "whereof I am accused," and that I am likely to retain a very vivid impression of the injustice of my accusers.

To begin at the beginning. The "head and front of my offending" consists in denying the right and opposing the policy of Federal coercion employed against a sovereign State ; in other words, the folly and futility of attempting to hold the Union together by brute force. Herein lies the offence to which I plead guilty, and for which, in common with hundreds of my countrymen, I am an exile. And yet, in

asserting this opinion, and in maintaining this position, I have violated no provision of the Constitution of the United States, committed no "overt act" against the Government, nor exercised any right or privilege beyond that "inalienable and indefeasible right" of freedom of the press and freedom of speech which the Constitution expressly guarantees to every American citizen. I have never lifted my finger against the Administration of President Lincoln, whose election I did my utmost to defeat; nor have I ever committed the unpardonable sin of "insulting the flag of the Union," even since regarding it as an ensign of oppression to millions of my fellow citizens of the Southern States, not only of the Confederacy, but of the Border States also.

I have not committed the crime of treason by "levying war" against the United States, nor by "giving aid and comfort to the enemy," beyond publicly expressing the opinion that individual sovereign States have an inherent right to secede or do what they please, and that the only question for them to decide in regard to the policy of secession is, whether they have sufficient power to maintain their independence, and thereby justify their right to a separate government. Previous to the commencement



of the war, or the proclamation of President Lincoln's coercive policy, which precipitated the war, I am not conscious of ever having written or spoken a word in favour of the dissolution of the Union. Having been educated in the conservative school of Washington, Hamilton, Webster, and Clay, I had always regarded such an event as the last calamity that could befall the Republic. The mere suggestion of the destruction of "our glorious Union," was enough to excite a shiver of horror, a sort of nightmare dread of the ending of the world, when the stars would drop from the skies, "like figs from the wind-shaken tree," and the heavens "roll together like a scroll." I was a Unionist of the most conservative sect, of that "silver-grey stripe" of "old line Whigs," who united with the leading Democrats of the South in 1850 to pass the famous "Compromise Bill," which served to hold the States together some ten years longer. With such a record to stand on, and such antecedents to refer to, I can both deny and disprove the accusation, so often repeated, of being "a Secessionist," although a firm believer in the abstract right of secession. He only can justly be called a "Secessionist" who takes an active part in the secession movement, by recommending it, voting for it, fighting

for it, and vindicating it. A large portion of the Democratic party of the North, more especially among the cultivated class, may be called passive, or theoretical Secessionists, believing in the right, while doubting and deprecating the policy, of secession. With this party in power, although there might have been sooner or later a separation of States, there never could have been a secession war, for the very simple and sufficient reason that the logical leaders of the Democratic party are unbelievers in the doctrine of coercion ; in other words, they are consistent constitutional sticklers for State rights. Upon this point, the late Vice-President Breckenridge expresses the creed of his party in the following declaration—“ *The power to coerce resides nowhere.*”

But all this, the reader may think, is less of a personal confession than a political explanation, and so I will return to the catalogue of my offences, and resume my traitorous narrative.

During the two years immediately preceding the last Presidential canvass, I confess to having been a zealous advocate of the election of Mr. Douglas ; and between the day of his nomination at Baltimore, and the day of his defeat at the polls, I must also confess to having urg

the claims of the "Little Giant" to the suffrages of the American people, through the columns of more than thirty different Democratic newspapers, in almost as many different cities. It is a way we have in America. When a grand national object is to be gained, a *simultaneous impression* is sought to be made by firing a sort of newspaper broadside from Maine to California ; or, to give the fact without the metaphor, a writer in New York who possesses sufficient industry and versatility to write twenty "original articles," all on one and the same subject, may communicate his views, varied only in language, through the leading columns of the leading journals of all the principal cities on the same day, and thus reach at the same instant millions of readers ; and this, in the management of a political campaign, is considered a most important and effective operation. For instance, a new fact comes out, or a new fiction is invented, on the excited and impressible eve of a Presidential election, and the problem is to place the new "argument" in the best possible light before the eyes of all the people at the same moment, whether favourable to your candidate, or unfavourable to his opponent. A simultaneous publication throughout the Union cannot fail to produce a "telling" effect.

In urging the claims of Senator Douglas, and in disparaging the pretensions of Mr. Lincoln, the personal, and even the political, merits of the two candidates sink into insignificance in comparison with the appalling question of secession or dissolution involved in the issue of the contest. It required no prophet to foresee that the triumph of a purely sectional party in the election of the Black Republican candidate must inevitably lead to the secession of a portion, if not all, of the Southern States. Had the Democratic party remained united, it would have been invincible, and Lincoln's defeat overwhelming ; but the fatal "split" in the Charleston Convention was radical and ruinous ; and the telegraphic despatch thence sent by "the indomitable Sanders" to "Old Buck," telling him in terse telegraphic terms that, unless he came promptly to the rescue, and healed the breach, he would be known in history as *the last President of the United States*, has proved prophetic. It has been asserted that the eloquent appeal of the sanguine Sanders was more than neutralized in the mind of the President by the unpaid toll of *twenty-eight dollars* that accompanied it. If this be true, what a trifling sum, appropriated to the prepayment of that famous despatch, might have sufficed to save the Union, pre

the war, and preserve *the last of the Presidents* from the ugly accusation of treason.

In commenting on the doings and misdoings of the schismatic Convention at Charleston, I confess to having written the following paragraph, touching the action of the minority, which was originally published in the columns of a daily London newspaper :—" Nothing can justify the South in seceding from the Convention. When majorities cease to rule in all organized and legislative bodies, popular government is no longer possible."

A single word from President Buchanan to his official subordinates, who, as delegates, controlled the action of that Convention, and Douglas would have been nominated in May and elected in November. As it was, he received one hundred and fifty-two votes out of three hundred and three—a majority of *one vote* ; but the conventional rule, requiring a two-thirds vote, defeated his nomination ; and after ten days of bitter wrangling, the Convention broke up in confusion ; the Northern half adjourning to meet in Baltimore on the 18th of June ; and the Southern, to meet in Richmond a few days earlier. On the meeting of these divided and alienated sections of the representatives of the Democratic party, Douglas


and Breckenridge were placed in the field as competitors, thereby ensuring an easy victory to the Republicans. It is not necessary to remind the Democrats of the folly of their "family quarrel," which resulted so disastrously, not only to themselves, but to the American Union and the American people.

The great struggle is over, the hotly-contested race is decided, and Abraham Lincoln is president elect of the United States. The day on which the melancholy fact was announced stocks fell in Wall-street an average of *twenty per cent.* ! And why ? Because everybody felt, even at the North, that the days of the Union were numbered, and that "dissolution" was inevitable.

And here I have to confess to giving utterance to the following treasonable predictions in the columns of the "Picayune" newspaper, the leading journal of New Orleans, and the most influential press of the South :—

The more susceptible people are growing sentimental over the possible, if not imminent, wreck of the Republic. Is it indeed so, that the indignant South is about to tear the stars out of our glorious flag ? May we no longer see and sing together—

By the dawn's rosy light  
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last  
beaming !





Is the American eagle henceforth to flutter lamely, a one-winged bird? No, no; never, never! New York holds out her pleading hands to aggrieved Louisiana, and says, "Don't go yet; wait a little longer; we are already repenting; give us a little time to show works 'meet for repentance.'" The States that have nullified the Fugitive Slave Law must expunge the treasonable enactment from their statutes. There is no alternative betwixt this act of justice on the part of the North, and dissolution of the Union on the part of the South. Let the black line be drawn around the following States on every map that is published:—Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Iowa. All of these, excepting Rhode Island and New Hampshire, impose fines, varying from one thousand to five thousand dollars, and imprisonment from three months to fifteen years, on all officers and citizens who shall aid in enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law! In Maine, Rhode Island, Vermont, Michigan, and Massachusetts, the use of the State jails for the detention of arrested fugitives is forbidden. Other States provide legal defences for the fugitives. Maine and Vermont declare the slave free if brought into the State by his master, and New Hampshire declares him absolutely free. Our own Empire State of New York has often been erroneously placed in the category of the above. In order to put the matter right, let me give a brief synopsis of all that our Legislature has done with the negro question from the first to the last year of the Republic.

We find, first, that in 1786 a law was passed, providing that all slaves who shall become the property of the State on the attainder or conviction of their masters, shall be set free, and their support provided for by the Escheat Commissioners.

Second. In 1788, several general laws were passed respecting the relations of masters and slaves, such as

then were and are now usual to the slave codes in the South.

Third. In 1798, a law was passed confirming manumissions made by quakers.

Fourth. In 1799, an act was passed for the gradual abolition of slavery.

Fifth. In 1811, an act prohibiting slaves from voting.

Sixth. From 1813 to 1819, some special provisions were made nearly every year respecting the practical difficulties arising from the Manumission Act.

Seventh. In 1834, an act passed in aid of the owner of a fugitive slave.

Eighth. In 1840, an act providing that the Governor shall take measures to have returned all free persons taken out of the State by kidnapping, and not by process of law.

Ninth. Also, in the same year, an act to extend trial by jury to a writ *de homine replegiendo*, which writ was passed in 1834.

Tenth. In 1847 and 1849, periodical resolutions were passed respecting the non-admission of slavery on the acquired Mexican territory, and asking Congress to act upon them.

Eleventh. In 1852, a joint resolution of the Legislature was passed against the African slave-trade.

Twelfth. In 1857, a personal liberty Bill was reported in the Assembly, and voted down.

Thirteenth. In 1858, the same subject was renewed, and strangled while in the hands of the Committee.

Fourteenth. In 1859, against the remonstrances of the leaders, a personal liberty Bill was put through the Assembly, by aid of Democratic votes, for Parliamentary stratagem, but it was denounced and defeated in the Senate.

Fifteenth. In 1860, the personal liberty Bill was voted down.

Sixteenth. In the same year, on the sixth instant, the day of the Presidential election, the question of negro suffrage was put to the people, and defeated by a majority larger than Lincoln's. . . . There is a good deal of regret expressed here at the resigning of Southern senators. If they kept their places they would hold a check on Lincoln's appointments ; and, with both Houses of Congress against him, and in view of the speedy dissolution of his own party, the Black Republican occupant of the White House (it should now be painted *black*) would be compelled to say with Macbeth—

They have put a barren sceptre in my grip,  
Thence to be wrenched with an unlineal hand,  
No son of mine succeeding.

Again, a little later, the traitor at the confessional keeps up his line of treason with his "rebel journal" in New York. Writing from the city of New Orleans, he has the audacity to put forth the following "treasonable matter :"—

It is hoped and presumed here in the South, that the new and improved Constitution will soon draw other States into the Southern Confederacy ; and I shall venture to advance the opinion, that it will be better for all concerned to make "Mason and Dixon's line" the *dividing line* between the Northern and the Southern Republics. Let us do the clean thing, and have done with it. As long as a single Slave State remains in the Union, it will be the battle-field of the "irrepressible conflict." Let us agree to disagree on the ground of "incompatibility," which justifies the rupture of a still more sacred "Union." *Coercion is madness.* The Government at Washington should be the *first* to recognise the Southern Confederacy.

Mr. Lincoln should have taken the initiative in his Inaugural, and the Powers of Europe would speedily have followed his example. The excitement in the "Crescent City" during the past week has been of the most profound and painful character. Even the hilarious uproar caused by the secession of Virginia, seemed, like a fit of hysterical laughter, suddenly to be drowned in tears. It is true that men clasped each other's hands in the street with a sort of spasmodic enthusiasm, while women in drawing-rooms were embracing and weeping upon each other's bosoms. The great guns in the Square, which "Jove's dread clamours counterfeit," opened their iron throats to repeat a hundred times over the glad news that the pangs of parturition were ended, and a great joy was born ! The "Old Dominion"—the mother of States and of statesmen, wearing on her honoured bosom the sacred souvenir of Mount Vernon, has seceded, and will become the Empire State of the Southern Confederacy ! The instant the joyful tidings reached New Orleans another star was added to the Confederate flag ; and the conviction that all the other Slave States would soon follow, gave reason for hope that this most unjust and unnatural war would be brought to a speedy termination. . . . . And here let me assure our Northern readers that while every man, woman, and child in the South is ready for war, the people *do not seek it*, do not want it. They consider that they are acting entirely on the defensive, and that the sad issue of blood is forced upon them. . . . . The South in a series of years may possibly be exterminated, but they *never can be subdued*. Even the women are ready to take the field in the defence of their rights and their homes. There was a most enthusiastic congress in crinoline assembled at the St. Charles Hotel yesterday, for the purpose of contributing to the wants of destitute families whose "heads" are off to the war ; and it reminded one of what is told of Spartan mothers, to see

these patriotic dames and demoiselles stripping the rings from their fingers to purchase bread and clothing for the poor wives and children whom the cruel war has robbed of husbands and of fathers.

And now let me say one word in regard to the *menaces* of the North thrown out against presses and persons that cannot and will not come to the aid of the Government at Washington in the prosecution of this most wanton and wicked war. It seems that a "reign of terror" has already commenced, even in the conservative city of New York, and that the mob has taken charge of the press, compelling journals to change their flag and front, and to follow in the wake of *The Tribune*! Now there can be no objection to sustaining the "stars and stripes" by any one living under their protection, and recognizing the Government of the United States. It is the flag of our country, and "long may it wave." But if these violent dictators mean to compel us to fight against our brethren of the South, or to advocate a war of coercion, then let us make up our minds at once to resist—or run. In regard to the coming conflict, I feel as if two friends had gone out to fight a duel, and while believing one party to be mainly in the wrong, do not wish to see either hurt. Is it too late for mutual friends to step in and "settle the difficulty?"

After the utterance of all this "unmitigated treason," I was not surprised on reaching home in New York, to encounter columns of averted faces in the Black Republican ranks, but I confess to a feeling of disappointment and chagrin on finding the cold look of alienation in eyes formerly friendly, which were wont to look kindly into mine, turning away only from the

faults which they would not see ; while from other " baleful orbs " there flashed assassin-like gleams of vengeance, as unexpected, as unmerited, and as ungrateful as the dagger of Brutus to the heart of his " well-beloved friend." The day after my arrival, while walking in Broadway, I chanced to meet an old and very intimate friend, who, on shaking hands as usual from " the force of habit," suddenly drew back with a fierce look of mingled malice and wrath, and exclaimed that he " hoped to live to see me hung ;" and added the amiable wish that he might " wade in secession blood up to his chin !" This man, who is one of the leading journalists and " public opinion makers " of New York, professes to be a gentleman and a Christian ! A little further on I met another old friend, an ex-United States minister to ——, who immediately commenced raving like a maniac against the South, and predicting that " the rascally rebels would all be swept into the Gulf of Mexico within sixty days." Whereupon I ventured to remonstrate a little against his sanguinary views, and mildly suggested that the difficulty should be settled by negotiation, not by throat-cutting, and in accordance with the fraternal and pacific spirit inculcated by the " Sermon on the Mount." " D—n the Sermon

on the Mount," was his blasphemous exclamation; and there, of course, the conversation ended. A few minutes after, I met one of our "popular and fashionable clergymen," the Rev. Dr. —, and finding him as bloodthirsty and vindictive as the rest, in spite of his "cloth," and his "divine commission from the Prince of Peace," I came to the conclusion that argument was useless, and expostulation vain. From that day to this I have considered silence wiser than speech in the "presence of the enemy."

Such was the bitter, unrelenting spirit of the North, even before lashed into madness by the humiliating exasperation of the Bull Run rout. "All who sympathise with the rebels had better leave the country," was the prudent advice of friends; while threats of bullets, daggers, and dungeons, spoken, written, and printed, were anonymously "served" on all who were even *suspected* of opposing the coercion policy, either actively or passively. At that time the city of New York, as Mr. Webster remarked on a convivial occasion of his native State of New Hampshire, was "an excellent place to emigrate from," which suggested the witty toast, "To the men and the principles who have *left it*." Accordingly, without waiting for any formal official warning, on a certain rainy, gloomy evening in

the month of August, 1861, I bade "my native land good night," to seek that liberty and protection in the "pursuit of happiness," as a voluntary exile abroad, which is no longer guaranteed, nor even tolerated at home. *Home!* there is now no home, but a prison, "in the land of the free," for him who dares to *think aloud*; while the sacred soil we loved to call our *country*, though already steeped in fraternal blood, seems even thirsting for our own. What is home without liberty, or country without protection? To be exiled from such a home, or banished from such a country, what is it but "to be set free from daily contact with the things we loathe?"

I have only to add to these unreserved confessions, that I fully intended to continue the publication of my "treasonable sentiments" from this side the Atlantic, through the columns of the *New York Daily News*, a bold and fearless pleader for peace; but before the first of the series of Letters which I had written and forwarded from Paris reached New York, that journal was suppressed by the Government, and the friends of constitutional liberty in the North were left without an organ. But, in the closing words of the editor's valedictory, "the *News* sleepeth, but is not dead." The circulation



during the six months immediately preceding its suppression, had increased at the rate of one thousand copies a week, and its subscribers embraced the most intelligent and conservative classes from all sections of the country. The Hon. Benjamin Wood, M.C., the principal proprietor of the paper, refused to part with his interest in the establishment, about the middle of August, for one hundred thousand dollars. On the 14th of the following month he was compelled to bid farewell to his readers, and to the liberty of the press, in the following sad and eloquent language, which deserves a place in the history of the reign of tyranny in the United States :—

We have stood manfully at our post while the slightest hope remained of weathering the storm ; but as our area of action has been narrowed until even the possibility of our rendering service to our countrymen has vanished, we lay down our pen in the bitterness of despair, and await for its resumption the propitious hour when persecution shall no longer strike the instrument of labour out of the hand of industry.

The causes that have led to our suspension are so palpable as scarcely to need a recapitulation. We have been denied the enjoyment of mail facilities, which, in itself, is virtually a suspension by Government decree. We have been shut out from express transportation, and attempts have been made to prohibit the sale of our issues in public vehicles of travel. Our property, and the property of our subscribers, has been confiscated by Government

officials, acting without warrant or process of law. Our advertising patrons have been threatened through anonymous communications, and some of those who have been in the habit of contributing to our editorial columns, for no other known cause, have been arrested and consigned to the dungeons of a fortress. Policemen, in their official capacity, have interfered with our circulation by practising intimidation upon newsvendors. Our readers have been subjected to insult and indignity, and it had absolutely become dangerous for a citizen to be seen perusing a copy of the *Daily News* in public places. Rival cotemporaries have paraded us in their columns as fit subjects for popular fury and administrative severity, and have been as unceasing and unrelenting in their persecution as were the prætors of Caligula against the early Christians. The fanatics in private life and the fanatics in high places have leagued to crush us, and we find ourselves at this day so completely shackled and shorn of all essential privileges of journalism, that further publication becomes a mockery and a mere waste of time and substance.


We wish the public to understand that while we withdraw for a time from the arena of our labours, we do not yield or retract, or in any way admit as reprehensible, erroneous, or treasonable, one thought, sentiment, or doctrine that we have hitherto advanced. The course of the paper, under its present proprietorship, was shaped after mature and deliberate consideration. Its policy was based neither upon selfishness, nor avarice, nor ambition, but upon a solemn sense of duty in an hour of great national danger. It were useless for us to rehearse now those opinions which, without deviation, we have abundantly advanced from the beginning ; but, in the face of all the imputations against our loyalty that have been flung at us by thoughtless enthusiasts and railing fanatics, in the face of the bitter hate of rivals and the more effectual hostility of official power, we affirm that those

opinions were born of honesty and nurtured by conviction—convictions that argument and events have not changed, and that reflection has but strengthened. Our paramount desire has been the country's welfare, and we have knowingly published to the world no word or sentiment that had not in view that sacred object. We may have erred in our estimate of the means by which a nation's prosperity can be secured, but we can admit no arbitrary dictation to our heart and brain by any mortal being.

In direct violation of an explicit provision of the Constitution, an independent, high-toned journal is persecuted to death, and the property of its proprietors destroyed, for no other offence than the daily utterance of a prayer for peace, and the putting forth of unanswerable arguments in defence of individual rights and constitutional liberty.

We will now return from this little episode of the "Confessional," and resume our pursuit of the traitor. Perhaps the reader may think that he has already discovered him again and again, and that it only remains to administer the sentence in accordance with the law and the testimony. Let us be sure we have the right man in the right place, and not the right man in the wrong place, so that no "reasonable doubt" in the mind of the jury may be given as a "benefit" to the criminal. In the first

place, there is danger of being bewildered by the confusion of names. The epithets "traitor" and "patriot" seem to be almost convertible terms, as they are alternately applied by different sections of the American people to *the same person for the same act*. In the South, the man who should refuse to obey the order of President Davis would be regarded and treated as a "traitor" throughout the Confederacy; in the North, the man who should assassinate the "rebel President" would be hailed and rewarded as a "patriot." Millions of tongues and pens are incessantly employed in denouncing individuals as traitors on one side, while as many millions on the opposite side are lauding the same persons as patriots. But it is the technical, legal, constitutional traitor that we are looking for, not for the party who is thus stigmatised by the fickle and thoughtless breath of popular clamour. Having noted and named several conspicuous victims of Northern denunciation, including presidents, senators, generals, journalists, and others, more or less persecuted as "traitors" for simply defending by sword or pen "certain inalienable rights" guaranteed as sacred and inviolable by the Federal Constitution, let us compare for a moment with these much-abused



defenders of personal right and political liberty some of those model "patriots" whom the press, the pulpit, and the public of the North are not only magnifying into heroes, but exalting into gods. We will take, for instance, the latest example of popular deification, as illustrated in the grand ovation to General Michael Corcoran ; for truly, as Cassius said of Cæsar, "this man has become a god !" And the great empire city of New York "culls out a holiday," while its women, with all the eagerness of the hero-worshipping Romans, climb to the chimney-tops, their children in their arms, "To see great *Michael* pass !" And who or what is he to be thus suddenly transformed and translated from the vulgar dispenser of "rum" at three cents a glass into the hero of a "popular demonstration," so grand and so glorious, to quote the "rich brogue" of his fellow Hibernians, "the likes o' which was never seen in Ameriky !"

The card was played, but it did not win. The mute eloquence of a hundred thousand of their dead countrymen on the lost battle-fields of Virginia told fearfully against the enlistment efforts of Irish recruiting orators ; and their "skeleton regiments" were not filled up. We now learn by official announcement, that, moral, military, and pecuniary "suasion" being

exhausted, the Government will try the last experiment of *force*, and that in the State of New York alone, not less than 40,000 men must be drafted to make up the State's deficit on the late call for 600,000 more of the "raw material." And still there is another threat to swell by conscription the army to a million ! Will the people of the North submit, or rebel ? *Nous verrons.*

Let us dismiss from our field of view this dazzling military meteor of the North—Brigadier-General Michael Corcoran, in all his pomp and plumage, the pet "patriot" of the Union, and, just by way of contrast, glance at his invincible adversary *Stonewall Jackson*, the most daring, dashing, and dreaded "traitor" of the South,—the Cromwell of the campaign—who prays and fights with equal energy and earnestness, never forgetting to "ask a blessing" on the eve of battle, as a sort of "grace before meat," when about to devour an army of Yankees. There is no "fuss and feathers" about the indomitable "Stonewall," who takes his *nomme de guerre* from the fact of his always standing with his steady and unyielding columns, *like a wall of stone*, against the surging waves of war ; and while his grateful people justly regard him as one sent by a special Providence

to aid in their deliverance—the victorious hero of a hundred battles—they waste no time in getting up “ovations,” nor spend money in giving him fancy swords or complimentary dinners. True merit can always afford to wait for its sure and substantial reward. In the “patriot” Corcoran, and the “traitor” Jackson, we have a striking, perhaps an extreme, exemplification of the spirit and character of the opposing sections in this great contest between the North and the South—this fierce and desperate struggle between the lust of empire and the love of independence, whose maimed and mortal victims have already reached the appalling aggregate of half a million of dead and damaged men !

To sum up the result of our search for the traitor : We have looked for him diligently and conscientiously in places high and low ; in the Executive Chambers and Legislative Halls of Washington and of Richmond ; in the highways and the byways of the two Republics ; among a people fighting for power, and a people struggling for liberty ; among generals and journalists, politicians and prisoners ; in military ranks, and in civil crowds ; in public and in private life. In seeking to track the real traitor, the veritable *bête noir*, to his hiding-

place, we have endeavoured to avoid the bewilderment of false lights, the confusion of vague and illusive names, and to be guided only by *the light of the Constitution*—that sacred organic instrument of self-government which he who violates one jot or tittle, in letter or spirit, is guilty of the whole. In the light of this lucid law, with all its provisions before us, and its definitions well understood, where shall we find that embodiment and epitome of all crime—and the traitor to his country—for whose arrest and punishment the Government of the United States has declared martial law, with a provost marshal in every city, and a spy in every house? In the dungeons of the bastille, in the dark and dirty casemates of Fort Lafayette or Warren, among the manacled crowd of miscellaneous gentlemen—many of the most refined and cultivated citizens of America—who have been dragged from their beds at midnight and hurried away, “without due process of law,” to the loathsome cells of Federal jails? Or shall we find him among the political tyrants at Washington, who, elevated to power by “bribery and corruption,” and suddenly “clothed with a little brief authority”—

Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven  
As make the angels weep !



President Abraham Lincoln exculpates his subordinates in the Cabinet and in the field, and ostentatiously "takes the responsibility." Then, while Time, with its "slow unmoving finger," shall point to the wreck and the ruin of his bloody reign, to a land but yesterday flowing with milk and honey, now, by his vindictive folly, "drenched in fraternal gore," there will come a voice in every sound, in the whisper of the breeze, and in the muttering of the storm, in the sigh of the dying soldier, and in the dread echoes of the battle, for ever articulating in his ear the fearful sentence of the prophet to his king : "*Thou art the man !*"

Abraham Lincoln "takes the responsibility !" Then shall the stern voice of History repeat with ever-increasing emphasis this awful sentence of the living and the dead, of the generation present, and the generations to come— "*Thou art the man !*" Yes : *Thou*, who hast sown the poisoned seeds of dissolution in the hot-beds of Northern fanaticism ; and who art now "reaping as thou hast sown," the black harvest of death on the blood-stained fields of the South. From the fatal day of your inauguration on the 4th of March, 1861, to the 22nd of September, 1862, the day on which you signed that diabolical document of con-

summate TREASON, every official step you have taken has been in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, which you so recently and so solemnly swore to "protect and defend!" The accusation, we know, is a serious one, and the penalty of the impeachment is DEATH, but the record compels it, and the future will award it. That atrocious "proclamation," audacious in its tyranny, and dastardly in its intent, will prove a death-warrant to the party in power at Washington, if not to the leading "heads of the government." Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and *Abraham Lincoln* may profit by their example. As President of the United States, he has not only committed "high crimes and misdemeanors," but what is worse—politically—he has made a fatal mistake.

A private letter of recent date which has just reached us from a gentleman in New York, gives the following reliable and lamentable picture of the reign of despotism in the "land of freedom :"—

"We are all at sea now on the Abolition Proclamation, and the one that succeeded it—one to free the negroes, the other to enslave white men. You will see them in the papers. It is rumoured this morning that Lincoln issued

his Abolition *manifesto* because of the danger of foreign intervention. The old coward trembles before *that*. Depend upon it, the end of the war will soon be reached, when foreign intervention calls for it. Even the simple *recognition* of the South, I think, would be enough.

“Do not be deceived by the lies concerning Federal victories; they have achieved none. Pope was terribly whipped; he lost 15,000 men in the battles before Washington. M'Clellan *did* arrive in advance of Lee at South Mountain in Maryland; but it was only to be driven into gorges at Antietam Creek to be cut to pieces. He was terribly repulsed, and has not been able to move since. The movement into Maryland was only *a raid*. It was to capture Harper's Ferry with its 12,500 prisoners, 15,000 stand of arms, 100 tons of ammunition, and fifty-seven pieces of artillery, all of which they got. Since Pope took the command before Washington, the Confederates have taken 25,000 prisoners.

“We have been of late acquiring a little more ‘freedom of speech;’ but this very day a new proclamation has been issued, ordering the trial of all persons arrested for ‘disloyal practices’ by ‘courts martial.’ You have no

idea how many are cowed and frightened by these fulminations. The Democratic party, except a very few mercenary leaders, are entirely opposed to the present war ; and we have all been in hopes we could elect Seymour for Governor, who, though not fully up to the mark, is yet inclined to give us at least 'free speech' and a 'free press.' But since Lincoln has issued his infamous Emancipation Proclamation, we expect 'a reign of terror' in order to *squelch* all opposition to it. The people have opened pretty vigorously against it ; but it remains to be seen how the 'powers that be' will stand it. We all feel much interest to know how Europe will regard the Proclamation. Can it be possible that they will endorse the sudden freeing of 4,000,000 of negroes without any preparation therefor, even *could* they be prepared ? It seems like the last act of a ruined gambler, and so it must be. The people want *peace* ; but they are powerless. A police force keeps down all freedom of speech, and papers for peace are not allowed to circulate in the mails. Men expressing such views as you do in your *Flag of Truce* would go to Fort Lafayette at once. How long will it be before they may go to the scaffold ?

" Why does the civilised world stand by and

see such wrongs? Why will it not step forth in the name of humanity, and save a people from self-destruction?—a people not only destroying themselves, but if this abolition policy prevails, will destroy the world. If I thought you were not already fully posted in regard to public sentiment here, I would write you much more at length. Depend upon it, the newspapers give but a very little indication of the *real* sentiment of New York to-day.”

This emancipation edict is thoroughly hypocritical in spirit and purpose, in theory and practice. It does not strike the axe at the root of Slavery, but only aims a blow at the pockets of the “rebel” slave-owners. As if the President were to say, “Be my friend, and your sin of slave-holding shall be rewarded with riches, freedom, and honour; remain my enemy, and it shall be punished with confiscation, imprisonment, and death.” The effect of a proposition so base will only serve to weld the South more closely together, to divide and revolutionise the North, and drive the “Border States” into the Confederacy. The Northern Democrats, if permitted the free use of the ballot-box, will carry their local and congressional elections, under the reaction of this abolition *pronunciamento*; and then, to use the

great word of the war, adopted by the defeated Federals to qualify and "cover their retreat," the Lincoln Government will "skedaddle" from Washington; and General McClellan, who is a modest and meritorious gentleman, as well as a brave and gallant soldier, may possibly be compelled, by the pressure of the army, and the stress of public necessity, to assume, for a time, the reins and responsibilities of the Federal Government.

## THE FLAG OF TRUCE.

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It is not necessary to enter into any ethnological speculations in regard to the origin of man in order to define his social relations. No matter whether we have sprung from one Adam or five ; whether descended from angels, or ascended from zoophites : are we not all the offspring of GOD ; and does not a common parentage establish a common brotherhood ? Upon this broad basis, as upon the primary foundation of the earth, all our reasoning rests ; and from it all our theories spring touching the rights and duties of the individual—the laws and relations of society. In this simple formula, like the oak in the acorn, lie all our hopes of the fraternity of man, the amity of nations, “the federation of the world.” And what, let us first inquire, is the natural state, the normal condition of man—is it peace, or is it war between himself and nature ; between himself and his fellow man ? The verb TO BE is the first word to be conjugated ; the first conquest to

achieve ; or, reduced to an aphorism, “ self-preservation is the first law of nature.” The primal necessity of existence is food : for this the first desire is felt—the first effort of the infant is made—the first battle of life is fought. All after wars are but amplified variations of that first great cause of grief, beginning in the faint cry of the cradle, and culminating in the clamour of the battle-field. In the animal world one race preys upon another (not like man, upon his own). Great fish devour the little ones (but not of their own species), and it seems to be ordained by the economy of nature that millions must die that one may live. In his savage state we see the fierce and naked man as a warrior rudely armed, ready to kill not only beings of his own race, but even of his own tribe, who stand between him and his animal appetites. For an offence somewhat more refined the first-born son of man murders his brother, and thus begins the never-ending strife which all good men lament ; while all the world have become more or less partakers of the original crime :

A brother’s murder !

It hath the primal, eldest curse upon it.

And yet there are few hands, however white, or holy, entirely free from the fratricidal stain.



The food we eat, the garments we wear, the luxuries we enjoy are too often but the spoils of war purchased with human blood.

Among barbarous tribes, a state of war seems to be in accordance with the lower law of nature ; and, if in harmony with nature, we must find no fault with its operations, but call it right. The lion fights to obtain food for his whelps, and the lioness fights in defending them from the hunter. Man, the savage, obeys the same instinct. But with the development and cultivation of his moral nature his savageness disappears, or is subdued ; and the code of blood gives place to the Commandments of Reason ; to be followed in the fulness of time by that higher law of Christian Love, heralded by the angels of God, announcing the end of war upon the earth ; and proclaiming the reign of peace and goodwill among men. Since the promise of that heavenly harbinger, which summoned the sages of the East to receive the new dispensation, two thousand years have rolled around, and still the glad tidings hailed with hosannas in the skies, filling the hearts of Bethlehem shepherds with joy, are not yet fulfilled ! There is not peace on earth ; there is not good will among men. The red tide of human blood still continues to flow, widening

and deepening with "the process of the sun." Alas, that we must confess that the tide is fiercest, and the deluge deepest among nations calling themselves Christian, whose people are the professed followers of the Prince of Peace ; and who continue to baptise their children in His name ! And more shockingly paradoxical yet, in the very name of Him who commanded his impetuous disciple to "put up his sword" the deadliest wars are waged ; while the history of Christianity—a Book of Martyrdom written in crimson, continues to be read without a blush ! Brothers nursed at the same breast, baptised at the same font, partakers of the same sacrament, go to war with one another, while the bystanders look on in cold "neutrality," forbidden to interfere by the laws of nations, or the etiquette of Courts !


It will be readily seen from these preliminary suggestions, that in considering the question of international rights and duties, we shall be compelled to take strong ground against the War policy—a policy originating in the lowest instincts of uncivilised man ; and which, under all its forms, and whatever its purpose is in direct antagonism to the higher impulses and nobler inspirations of the religion of Christianity—by whose golden rules of benevolence and

philanthropy the great nations of Europe and America profess to be governed, not only in their domestic polity, but in all their foreign intercourse and relations. Taking the "Sermon on the Mount" as the sum and essence of all human wisdom, we must begin by denouncing all offensive war, not only as an evil but a sin ; not only as a sin but a crime, for which there is no name but its own—WAR. And yet we can hardly adopt the non-resistance doctrine, which meekly offers the right cheek to the ruffian who has smitten us on the left ; nor that impoverishing charity that gives a coat to the thief who has stolen our cloak. All nature resents an injury ; the worm turns in self-defence against the foot that crushes it. Between aggressive and defensive war there is all the moral difference that lies between right and wrong, justice and injustice ; or whatever terms we choose to use in designating and discriminating between good and evil.

Our present purpose is to cast a summary glance at the earth as it is, with its one thousand million of human inhabitants, divided into races, and subdivided into nations ; and consider the relations they hold, and the duties they owe to each other, both in peace and in war. The map of the world is spread out

before us, with the geographical limits of all the Great Powers and the Lesser Powers duly defined thereon. Some are separated by oceans, some by mountains, some by rivers, others by "narrow friths," or only invisible lines; with different languages, customs, religions, and governments. The subject, it will be admitted, is a comprehensive one; but what is law for one should be law for all, and to discover and determine more especially the international laws and relations between Europe and America is all we shall venture to attempt in the space we purpose to occupy. To do this we need not refer to Wheaton or Vattel, or to any other authority on the "Laws of Nations," but rather to the common understanding of the people who make the laws (or who think they do), and to the policy of the Powers that break them.

The United States of America (it seems ironical to continue to call them the *United States*) present at this moment the sad spectacle of Civil War on a larger scale than the world has ever before witnessed—literally "the bloodiest picture in the book of Time." The causes of the contest we do not stop to consider; and the result no "latter-day prophet" may venture to predict. The question of questions now is, what action shall Europe, and more especially



France and England, take in regard to the belligerents ? In other words, what are the duties which one nation owes to another in a state of war, particularly in a state of civil or internecine war ? The answer to this inquiry is obvious, and the logic easily understood. War being an evil, a waste, a loss, a destruction to the parties engaged in it, it is evidently for their interest to come to terms and make peace at the earliest possible moment ; to cease killing each other, and to commence negotiating or reasoning. It follows, therefore, that the European Powers, even were they not strongly urged by self-interest to interfere in the contest, would only be doing their duty in a philanthropic, neighbourly way by exerting all their influence, moral, political, and commercial, in favour of peace. Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston personally deplore the existence of the war, but officially refuse to interfere, because, they tell us, such an act of friendship would involve England in the common calamity ; and self-interest is the first law of nations as well as of nature. But suppose that the spirit of Christianity sat enthroned to-day, invested with the sceptre of all the Cæsars ; or that the Emperor of the French, for instance, who probably wields more power for good or ill than any man

who ever lived, should suddenly decide to imbue his "Napoleonic ideas" with the doctrines of the "Beatitudes," and propose to all the nations of the earth that they should "learn the art of war no more;" that swords should be beaten into ploughshares, spears into pruning-hooks; that all war-vessels and fortifications should be dismantled, all cannon spiked; all powder-mills destroyed; and all the armies and navies of the world at once disbanded! Might not the disarmed nations continue to live in peace and harmony, with no more fears of foreign invasion or internal revolution? Instead of all this costly competition in providing instruments of death, might they not with better reason, and even greater security, devote their energies and their treasures to the cultivation of the peaceful arts, to the general welfare and happiness of the human race? The idea, we know, is extremely Utopian, so is Christianity; but the proposition to disarm the nations must come, sooner or later, from the "Powers that be," or the religion of Peace is an admitted failure. At the present moment who so able to propose and carry into effect the universal amnesty of nations as the Emperor of the French, whose nod is peace or war to Europe? Or perhaps the movement might come with a

still better grace from the Queen of England—a Christian, peace-loving woman, whose lawful and loyal subjects number 200,000,000, comprising one-fifth of the entire human race.

To return from this incidental speculation, which, however poetic and dreamy it may seem to this age of iron ships and Armstrong guns, is nevertheless a suggestion worthy of serious consideration, let us look a little more particularly into the actual state of things ; and consider what is best to be done in order to put an end to this unnatural strife in America, which all the world is deprecating, and from which all Europe is suffering. With all due deference to the diplomatic caution of European Cabinets, we do not believe in the policy of coolly looking on with folded arms while a young and powerful member of the family of nations, in a fit of passion, is tearing its own flesh, and rending its own limbs asunder. International duty is not discharged by assuming an attitude of calm and complacent neutrality. Something more is due to the combatants than to form a sort of sportsman's ring, and insist on fair play. When the courage and the skill of the parties has been proved, and their strength and manhood fully tested, non-interference on the part of the witnesses to the mortal combat is to become

*particeps criminis* in the eye of the common law. Let them be recognised and treated as equals, invited to shake hands and separate in peace.

Fair play is a phrase much used by Englishmen, and even in pugilistic encounters a fair fight and no favour is strenuously demanded. In the great contest between the North and South, the recognition of both parties as belligerents, entitled to equal rights, was undoubtedly intended as an application of the fair-play principle to the parties at war. But in order to place the North and the South on a footing of equality, the ports and markets of the world should be equally open to each. If the laws, treaties, and agreements of nations prevent the supply of articles contraband of war to either party by foreign merchants in foreign vessels, still the North has the vast advantage of purchasing powder, lead, rifles, swords, guns, and all other instruments of death in all the marts of Europe ; while the South, shut out from all the world, depends entirely upon its own resources for means of defence, extemporising the manufacture of arms and munitions of war, instead of importing them ready made from abroad. To respect the Blockade is, in effect, to take part with the North against the



South—with the strong (numerically) against the weak—with the invader against the invaded. Is this the boasted fair play of non-intervention? Why, even in a cock-fight the gallant bird that loses his spur is immediately taken from the pit in accordance with the cry of the spectators, and not permitted to renew the contest until supplied with weapons equal in length and sharpness to those of his antagonist. These diplomatic sticklers for non-interference with the deadly struggle in America forcibly remind one of the impartiality of the old woman in Oregon, who, when she saw her husband fighting with a bear, only “prayed for fair play, not caring a fig which licked.”

If there are times when “England expects every man to do his duty,” there are also times when every man expects England to do her duty; although, perhaps, this sturdy little word may not be found in the velvet vocabulary of diplomacy. But if we regard the nations of the earth simply as families, whose common welfare is best promoted by friendly intercourse and the interchange of neighbourly relations, surely it is not only the duty, but the interest of all to keep the peace of all. And if England, as she proudly claims, stands at the very head of the world in respect to age, intelligence, and power;

if she be indeed what she professes, the most enlightened, the most humane, and the most Christian nation on the earth, let her assume her right of precedence in the move for mediation ; and in the broad name of humanity demand a cessation of hostilities in the reeking and reeling Republic over the sea. The voice of the British empire—an empire on which the sun never sets, and the roll of the *reveillé* never ceases—that voice, coming like a note of celestial music from the lips of the peace-loving Queen, would be heard by listening hearts even amid the roar and the storm of battle.

But Governments, they tell us, must move gently and gingerly. The voice of duty is no authority for kings and cabinets. What says the “Law of Nations?” What are the permissions and the impediments of international treaties? Blockades must be respected—if effective. Nations must not interfere with each other’s internal affairs, especially with their difficulties. People must take no part in the quarrels of their neighbours, even though some brutal Butler living next door has his wife by the hair and is beating her to death ! But if the Statute Law restrains the more generous promptings of humanity ; if red-tape compacts prevent interference, there is surely no law to

prohibit Governments from expressing opinions, uttering protests, or making appeals in behalf of peace and the stay of slaughter ; and this quite harmless, entirely legal sort of *moral* intervention on the part of European Powers, would prove more effective than any other means of bringing the War in America to an end. It is no uncommon thing, when the angry passions are aroused, for parties to keep on quarrelling against their convictions, almost against their will ; and only want some good excuse for laying down their arms. The combatants in America are so deeply immersed in blood, that, like the murderers in Macbeth,

Should they wade no more,  
Returning were as tedious as to go o'er.

We believe there are tens of thousands of men now drawn up in battle array both in the North and in the South who "have no stomach for this fight." Both sides have had enough of blood and carnage ; and they would rejoice to quit the field if they could do so with honour, and by acting under good advice. The precise form and manner and moment of offering this advice is the delicate point to be overcome. But let us suppose that all the Great Powers of Europe were to make their united appeal to the

North and the South, jointly, to "cease firing, consent to an armistice, and appoint Commissioners to settle their difficulties. The moral weight of such an appeal might overcome all the objections raised by pride or passion, and by its very gravity and dignity subdue the belligerents into a state of calm reflection conducive to peace. Is not the experiment worth trying? We put the question most respectfully and most earnestly to the crowned and thoughtful heads of Europe. The party repudiating such wise and benevolent counsel would place itself at once in the wrong, and forfeit even the sympathy of its friends.

But we confess to little hope of seeing the nations moving for mediation from a sense of duty. Self-interest is the mainspring of Governments as well as of individuals. Let us accept the facts as we find them, and consider, for a moment, if it be not for the interest, almost the vital interest of England especially, to put an end to this suicidal war in America. We have small belief in the assertion, often uttered, that the Monarchies of the Old World, jealous of the Great Republic of the New, have for years been plotting and scheming for its destruction. There are publicists who even insist that the rupture of the Union originated in Russia, a country

always on the most friendly terms with the United States ; and it is asserted that ex-President Buchanan, who, when Minister at St. Petersburg, was first let into the secret, was subsequently used as a tool by the Czar to aggravate the Secession movement and bring on the war. The motive ascribed to Russia is purely a financial one—simply the grain question, amounting to some £30,000,000 a year ! It is also constantly asserted and very generally believed by the lower classes in America that England is the root of all the mischief ! that British gold has corrupted Republican integrity, bribed Republican legislators, subsidised Republican Administrations ; and that the cockatrice's egg of Secession was laid in Downing-street, and hatched at the White House in Washington. Not only the Court, the Cabinet, and the Parliament of England have conspired to destroy the Union, but English manufacturers, whose profits are impinged by Northern Tariffs, have joined the grand cabal in instigating the South to rebellion, accepting drafts from the "Cotton Lords" for unlimited amounts in order to give aid to the Secession cause ! France, we believe, has not yet been inculpatated as an abettor of the great rebellion.

The charges against England being more

plausible and more generally credited than any other in regard to what are called "the machinations of foreign Governments," we shall commence by denying the justice of the accusations, and proceed to examine a little critically into the causes of their credibility. In the first place, although England and the United States have long been at peace, and while commercial and social intercourse between the two countries is all the while increasing, there is no disguising the fact that a very large class of people in America cherish and inculcate a most intense anti-British feeling. Among the descendants of the soldiers of the Revolution, and the survivors of the war of 1812-15 this animosity is hereditary and natural. It takes a century to obliterate the cicatrices of a war. A far more malignant type of the disease of Anglophobia has been imported into America from Ireland. The feeling of enmity towards England among the native citizens was fast fading out; and on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales the "hatchet was buried;" the "calumet smoked;" and "God save the Queen" promised to become almost as popular in the theatres of New York as in the concert-rooms of London. But on that very occasion the *animus* of the Emerald Islanders was signally shown by the refusal of

Colonel Corcoran (now prisoner at Richmond), who then commanded an Irish Regiment, to parade in honour of the son of England's Queen—the heir to England's throne! While five hundred thousand enthusiastic Americans lined Broadway, waiting from ten o'clock in the morning until dark, to catch a passing glimpse of Royalty, and to swell the huzzas that greeted his coming; and from every drawing-room in the Fifth Avenue floated the sweet song, "We love him for his mother's sake,"—Irishmen only skulked sulkily into the background, muttering, in the old style—"England's necessity shall be Ireland's opportunity!" And Irishmen now, more than any other people, swell the ranks of the army in the North in its crusade against the South. To conquer Canada and revolutionise England is the second part of their programme.


The wholesale charge that America hates England is not entirely true; neither is it just, when speaking for the whole nation, to say that England hates America. Nationalities never love or hate as units; all the friendship and all the enmity existing between them is to be found in classes and individuals. In America, in addition to the anti-British elements we have indicated, there is also a strong commercial

rivalry between the manufacturing interests of the two countries. The mills of Lowell compete with the mills of Manchester ; while protective tariffs in the United States conflict with England's theory of fair play. But these are peaceful rivalries, involving no ill-feeling, and threatening no unpleasant results. In the fair field of literature, and the beautiful arts, there is still less to fear from national competition ; on the contrary, there is still more to hope from the generous emulation of rival nations. When legislatures shall be controlled by that high sense of justice which guarantees to the men who think, and to the men who invent, the legitimate fruits of their labour and their skill—protecting the rights of the higher kind of property as well as the lower—there will no longer be cause of complaint, on either side of the Atlantic, of that popular but infamous system of brain-theft by which publishers are enriched and authors are impoverished. The Harpers of America fatten on Dickens and Carlyle ; and the harpies of England thrive on Irving and Prescott. To republish an author's works without his permission and supervision, is not only a wrong but a crime, greater even than the stealing of his purse, as often, through error of print, or carelessness of translation, he is robbed even of his good name by the clumsi-




ness of the felonious fingers through which he is compelled to pass. But from larcenies of this sort there is little danger of war between England and the United States. Let some lawless Yankee skipper, however, board an English fishing-boat off Newfoundland, and steal the captain's compass or the cook's kettle, and the British Minister of Foreign Affairs would be promptly called upon to resent the wrong, to demand an apology, the restitution of the stolen property; and in case of refusal, to issue a declaration of war. But no redress is sought for these grosser robberies perpetually perpetrated by American pirates upon English brains; because there exists no international law for the protection of the most sacred of all property—the creations of the human mind, the inventions of human genius! And without the aid of law, crime will ever go “unwhipt of justice.”

But there is still another class in America whose opinions and prejudices must be taken into account in order to arrive at a more just estimate of the genuine republican feeling in regard to the social and political institutions of England. We do not know how better to characterise this radical school of the “fierce democracy” than by calling them king-haters.



The very name of "Monarchy" drives them mad ; and could they succeed in getting together a "World's Convention" for the revision of the Bible, as certain "reformers" have proposed, the "Book of Kings" would be speedily voted into the "Apocrypha." They look upon the "effete monarchies of Europe" as grand and glittering icebergs, chilling all the atmosphere around them, rudderlessly floating, gradually diminishing, and inevitably sinking into the sea of oblivion. They hate the whole system of Royalty, root and branch ; and despise all the artificial distinctions of ranks and orders which surround and support it. They ridicule the idea of a patent, titular nobility, and all its attendant flunkeyism, powdered, pampered, and bewigged ; while the rules of social precedence, based upon ancestry, title, or Act of Parliament, strike the pure democracy of America as an outrage upon the dignity of man,—an offence against God, who has stamped on every brow the degree of nobility or ignobility to which it is entitled ; and fixed the rank of each by those high heraldic signs of nature which no Court or King on earth can counterfeit. They insist upon an aristocracy of intellect, not of ribbons ; and would reverse the order of precedence laid down in the "Peerage," which, in dividing the



people of England into one hundred and fifty-eight classes, places such men as William Shakespeare and Alfred Tennyson in the one hundred and fifty-fourth, leaving only four grades below them : yeomen, tradesmen, artificers, and labourers ! It is needless to add that this school of theoretical democrats, whether of the Black republican or of the Red republican stripe, bears no love to England, or to any other country maintaining monarchical institutions. It embraces active and ardent politicians of the most radical and agrarian tendencies, and they are always among the most clamorous advocates for war. They have been mainly instrumental in precipitating the disastrous war between the North and the South, which is regarded by them as only a sort of preparatory, monytechnic school, in which the great army of the Republic is training and strengthening itself for the grand encounter with foreign nations, daily threatened by the New York press, and sure to come at no distant period. The universal Yankee nation, they boast, is yet bound to "lick all creation." And then those "baubles" of Royalty, the crowns of Europe, are to be tossed about like shuttlecocks by the mighty battle-dores of America ! Inspired by the arrogant ambition of the "Munroe doctrine," they dream

of annexing Canada, Cuba, and Mexico (they have already a mortgage on the latter country); and woe to the European Power that presumes to stand in the way of "manifest destiny." Mr. Seward's policy and plans of national aggrandisement are all condensed in the oft-repeated couplet :—

No pent-up Utica contracts our powers ;  
But the whole boundless continent is ours !

With these elucidations of American principles and purposes, the "rotten dynasties of Europe," as they are called by Fourth-of-July orators, may have a foretaste of the broth that is brewing for them on the democratic side of the Atlantic. The shadows of coming events, like the penumbra of an eclipse, have already touched the shores of England with a palpable chill ; and the great law of self-preservation is beginning to operate. The British Government is thoroughly awake to the necessity of arming at all points—preparing for the evil to come.

But it is not our purpose to join in the cry "to arms ;" we would rather persuade the nations to disarm themselves, to throw away their swords and muskets and enter into the holy alliance of peace upon the platform of Christian brotherhood. We have shown the

existence of the war feeling in America only that it may be the better controlled, or neutralised ; not that the fever may be counteracted by exciting a similar irritation in Europe. The war cloud in the West is heavy and dark ; but with the right sort of conductors the deadly element may be safely discharged ; and the bow of peace, like a "covenant in the skies," again assure us that the red deluge is past, and that the sweet harvests of life shall no more be blasted by the desolating storms of war.

To resume the consideration of international relations in time of peace, and the rights and duties by which peaceful relations are best maintained :—It was the maxim of Washington, "In time of peace prepare for war ;" and all the nations of the earth are acting in accordance with this prudent precept. But such has been the progress of military science in what is popularly termed the art of war, and so equalised have the nations become by the employment of equal weapons, that absolute invulnerability to the attacks of an enemy bids fair to render all hostile demonstrations not only useless, but ridiculous. The "Monitors" and "Merrimacs" of our navies may be so encased in impenetrable iron that a fight between them, instead of being dangerous, becomes simply

ludicrous. Like a couple of knights "clad in complete steel," hacking at each other with swords without being able to inflict the smallest injury, they would only amuse the bystanders with the mockery of a "sham fight." It is not impossible that through the very perfection of the implements of war the nations may yet come to laugh at the absurdity of throwing egg-shells at each other from the "turrets" of iron houses, and thus be led, by common consent, in view of their own folly, to convert all instruments of death into implements of agriculture, or any other culture conducive to the general welfare and happiness of man. This, indeed, were a "consummation devoutly to be wished;" and, Utopian as it may seem to the multitude employed in fabricating warships and armour, and to the sorely taxed people who are paying for the same, the dawn of another era may possibly be nearer than we dream. Whenever the popular current sets in for universal peace, the strife among the nations will be to see which can melt up cannon fastest.

In the meantime, what is the policy to be inculcated, best adapted to preserve the peace and amity of the nations, to promote the friendly intercourse and brotherhood of man? We begin by declaring Free Trade to be a primary

condition, an absolute necessity to a good understanding between the Powers and the Peoples of the earth.

All tariffs, or import and export taxes, are wrong in theory and unjust in practice. Taxing one class to protect another is one of the fundamental fallacies of that narrow-minded school of economists, whose logic begins and ends in selfishness. A direct tax levied upon person or property is the most honest tax a State can impose upon its citizens. All other forms of taxation are scarcely better than subterfuges. And as for legislative protection to special interests, the simple statement of the proposition sufficiently indicates its injustice. The laws of nature, as well as the laws of trade, regulate both products and prices on the single basis of supply and demand ; while different countries and climates widely distant from the great markets of the world, will each contribute the article it can produce best and cheapest without legislative aid, and in spite of legislative hindrance. The cotton of the Confederacy ; the sugar of Cuba ; the tea of China ; the wine of France ; and the leather of Russia will continue to find their way to London against all competition, however protected by legislative enactment. Manufactured goods are also sub-

ject to the same commercial laws. Manchester machinery is perfect, and Manchester labour is cheap ; therefore, give its manufacturers the fair play of free trade, and they can defy competition even in the remotest markets of the world ; and this, too, after paying for the transportation of the raw material from the uttermost parts of the earth and the sea. In New England, labour is dearer, and machinery less perfect ; therefore New England insists on a protective tariff to enable her to compete with Manchester. But, instead of listening to this plea for legislative interference to make up the difference, the Government should tell New England to go to work at something else ; to stick to shoe-making, if she cannot make both ends meet at calico-making. "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*" is a motto as appropriate for Massachusetts manufacturers as for their special pleader Wilson, in the Senate Chamber at Washington. Illinois raises wheat and cattle without any fostering by Congress ; Virginia, tobacco ; South Carolina, rice ; Georgia and Alabama, cotton. Is there nothing New England can do for a living without going to Washington for a subsidy ? Better go a fishing, than to continually go begging for protection, in order, as her special advocates term it,



“to enable her to compete with the pauper labour of Europe.”

But it is more especially with reference to the promotion of goodwill among the nations, and the establishment of harmonious relations between the great families of man, that we earnestly urge the policy of Free Trade upon the attention of peoples and Governments. The American tax on imports, for instance, we regard as a direct injury to the producer of the article taxed, by forcibly robbing him of his customers.

The war now raging, by plunging the nation into debt, compels the levying of higher and higher duties. With an export tax on cotton, and increased rates on Manchester muslins, the English manufacturer will find his candle burning at both ends, and his substance melting away, and all in consequence of a civil-war contest, by which commerce is paralysed, while the Governments of Europe continue to look on in passive neutrality ! But, ask the sophists of Selfism, have not all Governments the absolute right, not only to regulate their internal affairs, but to adopt whatever restrictive measures they please touching trade and intercourse with foreign nations ? Most assuredly they have that sort of arbitrary right which is based

on might, and if they take for their rule of faith and practice the doctrine which ignores the existence of any other being, or any other body outside of themselves, recognising the Supreme Ego as the fountain and finalty of duty, they may pile on prohibitory tariffs, until every nation becomes walled in, or walled out, and thus isolated from the rest of the world. This would be the result of "protection" carried to its extreme limit; and yet it would be only the exercise of the abstract, legal right which every man has to build a wall around his house, barricade his doors, board up his windows, and refuse to have any further dealings with neighbours. Upon the principle that every man's house is his castle, and that the precincts and premises of his domicile are sacred and consecrated to his his own sole "use and behoof for ever," as the legal phrase goes, every misanthropic churl has the right thus to immure himself and to die in the dungeon of his own despotic exclusiveness. Such on a larger scale is the national non-intercourse policy of China and Japan, a policy which all the Western Powers, claiming a superior civilisation, have very unanimously agreed to disregard; and consequently proceeded to overcome those ancient mural obstacles to free trade by the argument of European cannon.

There is very little difference of principle between paper impediments, and obstructions of wood and stone to the free ingress of trade and travel into the ports and territories of foreign countries ; and the right to shut out the world by high walls, though apparently more hostile, is quite as well founded as the more refined and diplomatic method of excluding men and merchandise by legislative enactment. We have heard strong reasons urged against American and European intervention in China. It was wrong, say a certain class of theorists, to disturb an ancient and happy people, whose empire was in its glory before our "antiquity" was begun ; who wanted nothing from "outside barbarians," with whom contact was contamination ; whose philosophy was incomprehensible, and whose religion was heathenism. But the Western Powers, acting from a higher sense of the obligations to each other of the different members of the human family, claim the right of breaking the windows of barbarism to let in the common air and sunshine. Western civilisation, like the light of Christianity, is not to be hid under a bushel. In its very essence it is expansive and proselytising. Like the radiance of the sun, it must go forth to dissipate the darkness and gladden every corner of the world with its

share of the common day. There must be no monopoly in the excellence of the arts—no secret in the revelations of religion. Knowledge and wisdom must circle with the sun ; while the great families of nations, living as neighbours, whether near or remote, must cultivate neighbourly and friendly relations. And this they cannot do by pointing their guns at each other's windows, or by shaking their fists in each other's faces.

There is an instinct of duty as well as a sense of right in the consciousness of every intelligent mind ; and upon this milder emotion of benevolence we found all our arguments in favour of peace, and all our hopes of the free and friendly intercourse of nations, which represent in the grand aggregate but the multiplied sense and sentiments of the individuals of which they are composed. The doctrine of free trade is the philanthropic spirit of brotherhood embodied in legislation ; and sent as a token and a pledge of amity in every bale of merchandise that passes "duty free" from one country to another. Let the white-winged messengers of commerce fly over every sea, and upon the wings of every wind, until the surplus of each satisfies the wants of all. Not only are the products of the earth thus freely interchanged, but knowledge

and benedictions also ; while mutual profits create mutual riches.

It would not be easy to compute the saving in money, were the nations simultaneously to cease arming and adopt the Christian policy of universal peace. The "Blue Books" of the various Governments might show us the annual cost of standing armies and floating navies ; but the gross amounts which have been invested and wasted from time immemorial, in arms and armaments, with the interest thereon, would be a sum beyond the computations of arithmetic ; and in order to get nearer to the "dead loss" of war, we should add to this sum the wealth that might have been created by the employment of all these men and means in the cultivation of the useful and the peaceful arts of life. Next to this enormous military debt, the cost of collecting revenues is one of the heaviest items for which the people are taxed under the head of "Government Expenditure." Custom-houses and custom-house officers, after the military establishment, are the most expensive and least compensating of all public institutions. Why not, then, abolish them at once by mutual consent, and proclaim the great reform of Universal Free Trade ! Like the suggestion to disarm the nations, the time may come when this great

leap in the progress of civilisation may be seriously contemplated.

While writing these pages the important news reaches us, that Austria is negotiating to enter the Zollverein, thereby bestowing the benefits of the great reform upon her 35,000,000 of people. Custom-houses and passports will then be abolished along the whole frontier, from the Baltic to the Adriatic ; and the day is not far distant when the blessings of free trade and free travel will be established throughout Europe. Instead of being called upon to show his passport thirty-eight times in making the tour of Germany, and each time to fee an official, the untaxed and unrestricted traveller may pass unimpeded from State to State, under the benign freedom and political unity of the Germanic Federation. United Italy has also swept away the annoying impediments ; and these great strides of progress in the Old World promise much in the way of compensation for the losses occasioned by the retrograde movement and commercial prohibition of the New. While the United States of America are closing their doors, and adopting the hostile system of non-intercourse, United Italy and United Germany are opening their ports, removing their barricades, and inviting all the world to the

hospitalities of free trade and friendly intercourse. Do we go too far in asserting that this is one of the most hopeful and significant signs of the times ; and is it too much to claim for the system of free trade that it infuses the spirit of Christianity into the diplomacy and the laws of nations, into the commerce and intercourse of the world ? Surely there is reason to hope that the day is coming when this benevolent and pacific policy will be firmly established between all the Powers of Europe.

But the human race, down to the present time, does not seem to comprehend its own drift ; it does not understand very clearly either its origin, its object, or its destiny ; and even the pioneers of the great human procession know not whence they come, nor whither they go, save into "the valley of the shadow of death." In the youngest member of the family of nations—among a people farthest advanced towards the setting sun ; and who, following the course of the "Star of Empire, that Westward takes its way," should be the farthest removed from the ages and the deeds of darkness—we behold the devastation of civil war, and no hand or voice of Power is raised to separate the combatants ! Is it possible that England, with her claim of mother-

hood towards these contending brothers, can longer look on without protest or remonstrance? Are the parties to be left to fight on to the bitter end, like the famous cats of Kilkenny, leaving only their bloody remnants upon the battle-field?

In regard to the folly and wickedness of this war there can be but one opinion, even among the most truculent disciples of the sword. All the world now looks upon the great American quarrel, not only as a nuisance that ought to be abated, but as an unmitigated evil that ought to be suppressed. It has not even the poor plea of necessity—that common cloak for personal and national sins—to defend it. Even the most stony-hearted of Stoics who insist that every people must be purified by fire, and pass through a Red Sea on their way to the promised land, and who advocate war as a providential means of destroying the underbrush of nations, who speak of soldiers as “food for powder,” and of the corpses of the slain as “manure for the grain field,” can find no excuse for this madness in America. We search in vain through all history for its justification by precedents; the monstrous carnage stands alone in magnitude and misery.

We have already alluded to the popular



belief in America that the monarchies of Europe are rejoicing in the overthrow of the Republic ; and to the views and feelings entertained by certain classes in regard to monarchical institutions, and more particularly to those of England. Having described the unfriendly elements existing in the United States, and the radical proclivities of the King-hating masses, it is but just that some mention should be made of another, and far more thoughtful, not to say higher class of American citizens, who, instead of cherishing feelings of hostility to the "Mother Country," are quite as loyal to the great principles of the British Government, as the most devoted subjects of the British crown. At the time of the separation of the Thirteen Colonies there were many zealous loyalists in America as well as many open rebels in England ; and from that day to this a large proportion of what may still be termed the "gentry" of the United States have never ceased to regret the severance of the political tie that bound them to the land of their fathers. The "Tories" of the Revolution, whose friendly "Blue lights" guided many a British man-of-war into American ports on many a dark night, during the seven years' struggle between the old spirit of Empire and of Independence, still have their legitimate

descendants and representatives in every State of the old Union, and in every town of the new Confederacy. In 1776, these Tories, in the estimation of the Colonial rebels, were traitors only fit for the gallows. In 1862, the friends and advocates of a peaceful separation, or adjustment of difficulties between the North and the South, are similarly judged and treated by the military despotism of the Union, in the new struggle between the lust of Empire and the love of Independence! In both epochs the loyalists, the men of peace, the Conservatives who had more to lose than to gain by war, have been denounced and doomed as traitors to their country, and as enemies of mankind. Nevertheless, a few such grains of salt still exist, even in the land of "universal freedom;" patriotic and conscientious men, who stubbornly refuse to bend the knee to the idols of Democracy. We find gentlemen of this school to-day sprinkled all over the United States; but their voices are seldom heard amidst the contention of parties and the roar of battle. They are derisively designated by stump orators and partisan newspapers as "gentlemen of the old school," aristocrats, or by whatever epithet of opprobrium best "tickles the ears of the groundlings." But the most effective of all

charges against the "ruffled shirt gentry" is, that they are guilty of cherishing feelings of friendship for Great Britain, that detested despotism "whose oppressions planted the Colonies in America," whose cruel taxation drove them to the War of Independence, and whose irrepressible hatred of her Republican offspring leads to the continual plotting for their destruction! This more refined and respectable class of amicable gentlemen are never heard boasting, by tongue or pen, of the super-excellent character of their country or their institutions, because however admirable the Republican system may be in theory, they are too familiar with its practical imperfections and abuses to indulge in the disagreeable habit of exalting themselves above their neighbours; and while partakers with England of the benefits of a common Law, the luxuries of a common Literature, and the inspirations of a common Religion, they can never participate in the vulgar animosity of the masses of their countrymen against the land of their ancestors.

And what are these international repugnances, when carefully analysed, but the sum total of individual prejudices—the offspring of mutual ignorance rather than of mutual acquaintance? If America hates "John Bull"

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for his flunkeyism, England turns up her nose at "Brother Jonathan" for his bad manners. The one despises powdered wigs, and the other dislikes tobacco chewing and expectoration. The one is despised for his unmanly servility to superiors in rank, and the other for his impertinent swagger and obtrusive independence. And it is owing to these personal differences and social disagreeabilities, rather than to any political antagonisms between the Constitutions of the two Governments that England and America are in danger of coming into collision. If a man offends us by bad manners and ungracious words, we are far more likely to become his enemy than on account of any peculiar opinions, political or religious, he may entertain, however adverse to our own. People who travel in foreign countries become liberal-minded and cosmopolitan; while those who never look beyond their native hills, and think "the visual line that girts them round the world's extreme," live and die encrusted in their own prejudices. The Esquimaux believe that Greenland is the fairest country on which the sun shines. The feelings entertained by large masses of untravelled Americans and Englishmen respecting each other are about as self-complacent and reasonable. Both seem to be


perpetually returning thanks that they are not as other people are, especially as this poor Republican, or as this proud Royalist, as the case may be. Self-satisfaction is a very comfortable feeling; but when personal or national complacency runs into a sort of political Pharisæism, its destiny is clearly predicted in the words of the Book of Wisdom: "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." We have shown that the masses in America regard England as haughty, supercilious, and tyrannical; and they mean "to take the starch out of her," as soon as they have arranged their little difficulties at home.

England regards America as a grand braggadocio, vain, insolent and aggressive; and these mutual antipathies, we repeat, arise more from ignorance of each other's character and from bad manners, than from bad motives. On both sides the views, feelings, and wishes of the better classes, and of what should be the governing classes, are persistently misrepresented, and misunderstood. It is a great misfortune that the men at the head, and the pilots at the helms, of both nations have never interchanged domiciliary visits. If Napoleon III., Lord Palmerston, and Jefferson Davis could pass a social evening with President Lincoln, in the

“White House,” over a bottle of “old Bourbon” (a pacificating, humanising, fraternising spirit, which Prince Napoleon, during his recent visit to the United States, confessed to having liked better than anything he ever met bearing that name), we have no doubt that a declaration of peace would follow, and the portentous war-clouds now hanging over both hemispheres disappear. In the absence of such a friendly gathering, let all the Powers of Europe send Ambassadors of Peace to the courts and camps of the belligerents, entreating for an armistice, in the name of humanity, while a Congress of Nations as a Court of last Appeal, is summoned to decide on the merits of the questions at issue.

And this brings us more directly to a consideration of the duties which England and France owe to the unhappy Republic over the sea. Shall this frightful war be stopped, or shall the victim be left to die in the *delirium tremens* of war and carnage? The non-interventionists would leave him alone, like the gladiator in the arena—a pitiful spectacle, on no account to be interfered with, lest an interruption of the mortal agony should spoil a Roman holiday. Already more than 200,000 men have perished in this miserable strife ; and

yet the Powers of Europe extend no friendly, mediatory hand to restrain or separate the combatants ! Words of kindness and of reason, we are told, would not be heeded by either party, while the first demonstration of active interference, from whatever quarter it might come, would be met by an immediate declaration of war against the intermeddling Power. Arbitration on the part of France has been proposed to the Government at Washington and refused, notwithstanding the venerated memory of Lafayette and Rochambeau ; and any pacific suggestion from England would be received with diplomatic discourtesy and popular disdain. Nations have no right to meddle with each other's domestic affairs : this is the constantly reiterated dogma put forth on every hand as an apology for non-intervention. But we have endeavoured to show the fallacy, or at least the impolicy of this doctrine, by asserting the existence of a higher right, and a nobler impulse, springing from a sense of moral duty ; and without seeking authority in the legal permissions of international codes, or popular creeds, we shall venture to insist on the right of international recognition, as one not to be disputed, and that the exercise of this right on the part of England and France (all other Governments



will follow their lead) is the only possible means of bringing this wretched American war to a speedy and permanent termination.

When the great Republic was split asunder by the throes of Secession, eleven of the sovereign States of the Union, carrying a population of some 12,000,000 out of 30,000,000, with a territory of 800,000 square miles, and larger than all Western Europe, formed a new Union, under an improved Constitution, which they called "The Confederate States of America." Under this new Government, a little more conservative, but not less essentially republican than the old Union, the Confederate people of the South have lived and fought, and bled and died for eighteen months, in defence of their independence, acknowledging allegiance to no other Power, and recognising the existence of no other laws for the regulation of society, the administration of justice, and the general management of civil and military affairs. And yet they remain unrecognised by all other nations, except as a belligerent Power, or People. But in recognising the Confederates as belligerents, why not go one step further,—and a logical step it would be,—and recognise them as an organic political body, a People, a Government *de facto*, if not quite *de jure*? This would



only be acting in accordance with England's boasted love of fair play, and without espousing the cause of either party. It would only place the belligerents, externally, and in relation to Foreign Powers, on a footing of just equality. The recognition of a Government involves representation and diplomatic relations with foreign countries. But Europe refuses to receive the Ministers of the Confederacy, consequently the South has no official advocate abroad, while the North has its diplomatic pleaders and special agents at every Court in Europe. And not only are the ears of Kings and Cabinets open to the representations of the North, but all the ports and markets of the world are open to its commerce ; while the forges and manufactories of every land are employed in supplying them with the means and instruments of death. Is this fair play ! With all these fearful physical odds in favour of the Northern Government, while all the moral sympathies of the world are in favour of a peaceful separation—the simple act of recognition, instead of being a *casus belli*, would be approved, even in the North, by men of “ wisest censure ” as an act of duty and of justice, and in strict accordance with the precedents of nations. The United States have always been especially prompt to recognise


every people "struggling for liberty," and not over-scrupulous about waiting for the credentials of a *de facto* Government ; whether the bearer represents at Washington the result of the last head-and-tail-toss-up in Mexico ; some improvised Republic in South America ; or, what Mr. Webster called, some "pea-patch province" in Europe.

All the Great Powers have recognised from time to time the Governments of Brazil, Greece, Belgium, Lombardy and Italy ; and all these countries combined are of less importance, commercially, to England and France, than the Cotton culture alone of the Southern Confederacy. France, we are assured, is ready for the recognition ; but England is not—"letting I dare not, wait upon I would." And wherefore does she hesitate ? The answer to this question, which everybody is asking, may be gathered from the debates in Parliament, or the despatches of the Government. But these we propose to look into a little more critically hereafter. In the meantime, England, occupying as she does the very highest position among the nations of the earth, seated on her island throne, with her feet upon the seas, and her crown among the stars—England, whose meridian sun leaves no shadow on her Empire, has a sacred duty to

perform in behalf of her own suffering people at home, and in behalf of her more sadly suffering offspring in America.

To the humane instincts and Christian impulses of the nation, rather than to the diplomatic policy of the Government, we look, and hope, and pray for some discreetly-proffered, some wisely-arranged interposition in behalf of peace. It has been clearly shown in the recent debate in Parliament on Mr. Lindsay's motion for the Recognition of the Southern Confederacy as an independent, *de facto* Government, that the act of recognition is entirely consistent with the position of international neutrality; and numerous instances were cited to show that while England and the United States had always been prompt to recognise new Governments, they had not thereby actively espoused the cause of the new State, nor involved themselves in war with the old. The authority of Sir James Mackintosh, among English Statesmen, is strong and conclusive on this point. He says :—

I wish to add one striking fact on the subject of recognition. The United States of America accompanied their acknowledgment with a declaration of their determination to adhere to neutrality in the contest between Spain and her colonies. A stronger instance cannot be adduced of the compatibility of recognition and neutrality.



In 1849, the United States, under the administration of President Taylor, sent an envoy to Hungary with instructions to recognise the revolutionary Government if it maintained its position for only thirty days ; and in the famous controversy with Austria which followed, conducted by Chevalier Hulseman and Mr. Webster, the latter declared that "independent Governments were recognised by the leading countries of Europe and by the United States before they were acknowledged by the State from which they had separated." And no sentiment ever uttered by Mr. Webster was more applauded by the American democracy than this declaration.

But we need not quote authorities, nor point to precedents, since Lord Palmerston concedes the whole argument in the following extract from his speech in the House of Commons on the 18th July last :—

But then, many people who talk of acknowledgment seem to imply that that acknowledgment, if made, would establish some different relations between this country and the Southern States. But that is not the case. Acknowledgment would not establish a nation unless it were followed by some direct active interference. Neutrality, as was well observed by the right hon. gentleman opposite, is perfectly compatible with acknowledgment. You may be neutral in a war between two countries whose independence you never call in question. Two long-established countries go to war ; you acknowledge the inde-

pendence of both, but you are not on that account bound to take part in the contest.

The question recurs, then, with an urgency that will be heard—why delay the recognition? Again, we can only refer to Ministers and to Parliaments for an answer. We have already adverted to the experiment of a combined offer of mediation on the part of the Great Powers, addressed in the spirit of friendship and of neutrality to the contending parties. Should these words of kindness be unheeded, then recognition might follow; and neither the recommendation of an armistice, nor the recognition of the Confederacy, would be a cause for complaint or hostility on the part of the North. On the contrary, we are assured by high authorities, by gentlemen of the best intelligence and largest influence in the Northern States, that the conservative and wealthy class of citizens on both sides, would hail such an act of friendly interposition with delight. The recent disasters before Richmond have convinced the Government at Washington that the South cannot be subjugated. Of course, it would not be prudent or politic to make public confession of this opinion; but such we happen to know is the conviction and the conclusion of a majority of the Federal Cabinet; and such is the con-

viction, also, that is beginning to manifest itself in the city of New York. The "Great Union Meeting," as the friends of peace had to call it, recently held in that city, was nothing less than the initial movement for a peaceable separation. That immense mass meeting of the opposition elements to the Lincoln Administration, took the specific form of Anti-Abolitionism, and its "Resolutions," while proclaiming devotion to "the Union as it was, and to the Constitution as it is," were specially directed against such "organs" as the "New York Tribune," and such Generals as John Brown Hunter, whose "coloured brigades" have so deeply disgusted the better portion of the Army of the North. While the love of the Abolitionists for the "irrepressible nigger," is not sufficient to allow their "coloured brethren" seats in the same carriages, chairs at the same table, nor pews in the same church with themselves, it is hardly strange that anti-abolition officers refuse to command companies of "contrabands," that surgeons refuse to nurse them in hospitals, or that even privates refuse to fight side by side with them in the ranks. Europeans, especially the English, who deem it no disgrace to be seen in public with the most unmitigated "woolly heads," can hardly appreciate the "natural repugnance"

which every white man in America feels, particularly in the North, at being placed on any sort of equality with the African race. As servants, and servants only, are they everywhere regarded in the United States, even by the most zealous emancipationists ; while a case of practical amalgamation fills a whole State with undisguised disgust. The greased cartridges of India were not more distasteful to the Sepoys, than is the odour of a negro soldier to the nostrils of his white "companion in arms," be he low Dutch, or still lower Irish.

It follows, therefore, that for every coloured company of straggling "contrabands" raised in the South, whole regiments will become "disaffected" in the North ; the 300,000 additional men called for by President Lincoln, will not "volunteer," and the experiment of "drafting" is one that the Governors of the States will be afraid to adopt. The very crisis, we insist, invites intervention, not of arms, but of arbitration, or at least, advice ; and as an eminent authority writes us from New York, such intervention "would be heartily welcomed by thousands in the North, while the masses, as in the giving up of the Trent prisoners, would grin and bear it." Fortunately for the peace of Europe, the rabid and reckless portion of the

American press has not the power to declare war, nor the means to furnish "the sinews."

Let the strong and friendly hands of France and England hold out the Flag of Truce, and gently wave the combatants apart. The sight of the olive leaf will be welcome in the midst of the red deluge to our bleeding brethren over the sea ; and whatever result may follow so kind an act, inspired by so good a motive, every Frenchman and every Englishman will have the high satisfaction of feeling that *France and England have done their duty.*

BLESSED ARE THE PEACE-MAKERS.



## THE BATTLE OF THE BALLOT-BOX.

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THE signal victories recently won by the democratic party of the Northern States, in the great battle of the Ballot-box, must be taken as the verdict of the people against the war policy of the Lincoln Administration. The Republican journals insist that this great political revolution, or revulsion, is simply an expression of popular discontent at the slow progress of subjugation ; that the Federal generals do not move fast enough. The "shades" of countless victims "complain that we are slow ;" and ghosts innumerable "walk unavenged among us." The defeated Lincolmites declare that the people are impatient and clamorous for a more "vigorous prosecution of the war ;" and that *now* surely, the great rebellion will be "speedily crushed out." But we cannot regard the general result of the late elections as anything less than a conservative, constitutional triumph ; or rather a series of triumphs, beginning with several State elections in October, and culmi-

nating in the glorious victory of the 4th of November, when the Empire State of New York elected Horatio Seymour governor ; a majority of democrats to the State legislature ; and seventeen of the thirty-one members of Congress, making a change in the popular vote of the State since the election of Lincoln of some 120,000 ! And this, too, in spite of the great army of contractors, speculators, spies, and agents of the Government who, acting on the principle that "all is fair in politics," resorted to all sorts of trickery, treachery, and cheating to defeat the candidates of the Opposition. The great cities of New York and Brooklyn, with thousands of Republican policemen and Federal office-holders arrayed against them, gave a joint majority of 40,000 for the Anti-Lincoln ticket ! And this vast army of voters went defiantly to the polls with the following "Resolution" bravely blazoned on their banners :—

That we, having confidence in the loyalty of the citizens of the State of New York, reiterate the sentiments heretofore expressed by the Democratic party—that the illegal and unconstitutional arrests and imprisonments of citizens of this State are without the justification of necessity, and we denounce such arrests as a usurpation and a crime, and that the freedom of the press, equally protected by the Constitution, ought to be maintained.

From this specimen plank in the democratic "platform," we may judge of the timber and the temper of the whole. The "arrests" alluded to, of suspected citizens, and of citizens "suspected of being suspected," who have been dragged from their beds at midnight and thrust into loathsome prisons, "without due form of law," and in direct violation of the sacred guarantees of the Constitution, were made by order of President Lincoln, who, in the above "resolution," is plainly denounced as guilty of "usurpation and crime." This was the great issue of the canvass; and the political party thus denouncing the acts of their President is triumphant throughout the North! Even in Illinois, the President's own State, the verdict of the people is against him; while in his own little town of Springfield there is a majority of 400 against him; and a majority of the Congress elect, from the 4th of March, 1863, to the 4th of March, 1865, is also anti-republican. This is a great, an overwhelming fact; as full of encouragement to the friends of liberty and peace in America, known as "the unterrified democracy," as it is disheartening to that miserable failure, the Black Republican party in power at Washington. It affords a practical vindication of the democratic dogma—"the sober second

thought of the people is always right ;” and confirms the old saying, that even in the darkest hour of political trial, “no true patriot should ever despair of the Republic.” Mr. Lincoln, who even “jests at grave-making,” and who seldom speaks except in anecdotes and parables, illustrates his own feelings at the defeat of his party, by comparing himself to a “fellow out West, who, in running to see his sweetheart, stubbed his toe ; but felt too big to cry, and too much hurt to laugh.” One feels a sort of mingled pity and contempt for this poor old joker, who, forsaken by all good angels, has been left to “dash his foot against a stone ;” but who, in the hour of his agony, can neither cry nor laugh for relief.

We have now indubitable proof that Abraham Lincoln, after a bloody reign of twenty months, is no longer sustained by the party, or the section, that elected him President. Even in the North he has been “weighed in the balance and found wanting.” Where would he be if the entire vote of the thirty-four late United States were to-morrow to be cast between him and Breckenridge ; or even were he to run against Jefferson Davis, the “arch-traitor” himself ! Does any one doubt, that if free choice were given to the whole American people, in a con-

test between Lincoln and Davis, the latter would be chosen President of the Union by an overwhelming majority! We believe that *Peace, and the Union*, with Davis for President, and the Confederate Constitution, in place of the Federal Constitution would be gladly accepted by the great Democratic, or Conservative party of the North, who now outnumber the Black Republicans two to one; for, be it remembered, there has been a large accession of "on the fence men" to the ranks of the democracy *since* the announcement of the November victories. Timid tongues are loosed, and cautious journalists have grown bold. The democratic newspaper offices in the city of New York are no longer in fear of being mobbed; and even the "Herald," "a straw which shows which way the wind blows," rejoices in a double-leaded leader over the great Conservative victory. Speculation is already rife in regard to a possible reconstruction of the Union upon the condition of certain concessions and guarantees to the South. But no such suggestion comes from Secessiondom. Reunion is not thought of, much less spoken of, in the "land of Dixie." He would be treated as a traitor who should whisper the word. "*Liberty or Death*" is the stern resolve of the Confederates; and one or the other of

these alternatives will be theirs. There was a time when the Democratic party in the North could have prevented the war, and restored the Union, even after the secession of South Carolina ; but, having ignobly succumbed to the fanatical rule of a President who came into power in a minority of 1,100,000 votes ; and who had no sooner solemnly sworn to “ preserve and defend the Constitution,” than he deliberately violated its most sacred provisions ; and trampled upon the dearest rights of the people under its protection,—it is now *too late*. Even with the election of Seymour for President, a not improbable event in 1864 (unless McClellan, or some other favorite of the army and the people should be forced into the White House by a *coup d' état*), the seceded States will never come back, not even if New England were thrown out of the Federation. The North-West, including all the States bordering on the Mississippi might, possibly, be admitted into the Confederacy ; but the universal feeling of the South is utterly against any alliance with their Northern enemies, now, henceforth, and for ever. Separation, therefore, is as inevitable as it has come to be desirable. Slave labour and free labour are incongruous elements in the State, and *Slavery* should be the dividing line

between the two Republics. This division is a natural, a radical, and a political one. Why not then part at once on the ground of domestic incompatibility? Let the free North say to the slave-owning South, in the words of the veteran Scott: "Wayward sisters, depart in peace;" and let the people on either side of the line cast their lots according to their tastes. No one can doubt which way the Border States would go, if left free to act; while no true Democrat, or Republican even, believes either in the justice, or stability of a Government that does not "rest upon the consent of the governed."

In discussing the causes and consequences of the extraordinary change of public opinion in the North, it is necessary to define, if possible, the differences and distinctions of the parties that have recently "tried their strength" at the ballot-box. The European public is sadly puzzled, and often misled, by the use or misuse of political names in America; and this is not strange, since party names have there long since ceased to represent ideas or theories. The distinction between Democracy and Republicanism in the United States, to one who looks for significance in the "roots of etymology," is perhaps "a distinction with a differ-

ence ;" whereas it is but the "difference 'twixt tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee" so far as the *social status* is concerned. Both words imply a government of Many, as monarchy means the rule of One. In England, for instance, a democrat would naturally be regarded as an enemy to the sovereign, opposed to the aristocracy ; and an Englishman, governed by the legitimate interpretation of the word, considers the democratic party in America as the party of the masses, composed mainly of the lowest class of people, led and controlled by selfish demagogues, who flatter them while despising them, for the sake of their votes. Nothing can be more unjust than such a conclusion in view of the present state of political parties in the North. The democracy of New York, for example, is *not* made up exclusively of the most radical, the most agrarian, the most ignorant, or the least washed, and least civilized class of the community, who hate the idea of wealth or refinement, and fly into spasms at the sight of a clean shirt, or a kid glove. On the contrary, we find many of the richest, most cultivated, and best mannered gentlemen of the United States in the ranks of the democratic party—gentlemen of aristocratic birth and education, who would greatly prefer the rule of a monarch to the



tyranny of a mob. In the recent contest for governors of States and members of Congress, the word *democratic* not only lost its original signification, but represented a party and a purpose of quite an opposite character. The name, therefore, for the time, although "a tower of strength" on the hustings, must be abandoned in the history of current events ; and the word *Conservative* adopted in place of it. For Republican, also a misnomer, let us use the honest word *Radical*, in order to call things by their right, or *righter*, names, and come to a clearer understanding of the principles and issues involved in the contest.

The democratic party, whose triumphs we are recording, under our improved nomenclature, is the Conservative party—the party of the Constitution ; and we shall also claim for it the *party of peace*. From the tone of its journals, from the language of its speakers, from the resolutions of its conventions, from the inscriptions on its banners, and from the results of its elections, we are assured that this great party, now dominant in the Northern States, openly and utterly repudiates the policy of the Lincoln administration,—its violation of the *habeas corpus*, its suppression of the freedom of speech and the press, its unconstitutional and

tyrannical acts against the sacred and indefeasible rights, privileges, and immunities of "free, sovereign, and independent States." To this fearful catalogue of "high crimes and misdemeanors," or "*usurpations*," as the people at the polls denounced them, there is to be added an incalculable amount of private robbery and official theft, only a part of which has yet come to light, unequalled in the annals of the rottenest of Republics. These are grave charges against the Government at Washington; but there are "clouds of witnesses" by which every word may be established; and the result of the late elections attests the judgment of the people upon the iniquitous conduct of the Black Republican administration. Let us first take the testimony of an eminent and most credible gentleman, whose recent revelations to the merchants of Liverpool have had a startling and telling effect both in Europe and in America. The emphatic and forcible words of Governor Morehead, of Kentucky, carry conviction to every mind capable of discriminating between truth and falsehood, between honesty and hypocrisy. After tasting for seven months the tortures of a Federal prison, arrested he knows not wherefore, and released he knows not why, the Governor rests and recuperates awhile on

the "land-of-liberty" side of the Niagara river ; whence he finds his way to the hospitable shores of "Mother England ;" and while rejoicing in the free air of the great commercial city of the Mersey, the Governor is invited by some hundreds of merchants and gentlemen to narrate his personal experiences as one of the victims of the Lincoln Government.

An eminent citizen of the free, sovereign, and patriotic State of Kentucky ; one who "has done the State *much* service ;" not only as its chief magistrate, but as one of its most honoured and influential representatives in the Federal Congress,—to be treated as the vilest of criminals, without the shadow of cause, or even the legal "form of complaint" alleged against him, is an outrage so monstrous that we can only denounce it as an act of malicious barbarism. In this gross violation of the rights of one man we feel a violation of *the rights of all* ; and every citizen of the United States, and especially of Kentucky, might have truly said to every other citizen, on the imprisonment of Governor Morehead : "Then you, and I, and all of us were imprisoned, while *brutal tyranny* flourished over us !" But we will let the Governor tell his own story in his own plain, unvarnished manner :—

I have in my own person felt the despotism of this Northern Government. It is a matter of very little moment to the world, or to you, or even to the community in which I live, how a single individual may suffer from despotism, but the infringement of the rights of one individual is but the sanction for a like atrocity to be perpetrated upon every human being that comes under the influence of such a Government as that. I was seized at two o'clock in the night in my own bed, dragged from it and from my family, without a moment's warning, and carried across the Ohio river in defiance of the writ of *habeas corpus*. The soldiers took me and ran me by night, by special train, to Indianapolis. One of the judges of the supreme court sent a marshal with a *habeas corpus* to bring me back, but I was carried by a special train to Columbus, Ohio. There I was kept awhile, and afterwards I was carried on to New York, and hurried to the prison of Lafayette. And here I desire to say that I cannot well conceive of any horror more dreadful than that which was experienced in that prison. It has a small court not much larger than this room for exercise. Thirty-eight of us were placed in one room, five 32-pounder cannons occupying one portion of the room, which was 66 feet in length and 22 feet in depth. The floor was a brick floor, so damp that your boots would be covered with green mould every morning. They gave me 14 lbs. of straw to sleep on, carefully weighed, about half rotten. It was placed in a very coarse tick. I am, without my shoes, 6 feet in height, and the bed measured 4 feet 7 inches—actually measured by a member from Maryland, Mr. Sangston. We had one very dirty tin cup to drink out of, and the water we drank was filled, not with animalculæ, but with millions of tadpoles. We had to hold our noses when we drank, and strain every drop of it. We were locked up at six o'clock at night, and kept till six next morning without

any natural convenience whatever, suffering the agonies of death. I remember, if you will allow me to tell it—I dislike to follow Mr. Lincoln, but there was an old man brought from Kentucky upwards of 70 years of age. His head was as white as snow. I never saw him before, but I was amazed to see him, and seeing that he was from Kentucky I went up and addressed him. A friend had sent me some liquors, and I asked him if he would not like to have a little whisky or brandy, and he said yes, it was the only time in his life that he felt that a good dram would be of service to him. So, as is very commonly the case there, he took the bottle and poured out a very heavy drink. (Laughter.) He drank it off without mixing it with water, and he took up a glass of water—we had purchased glasses at that time—to drink after it, and saw the tadpoles. He set it down again, shaking his head, and said he could not stand it, and walked away; but the brandy burned him so much that he came back and took it up, and held it between the light of the sun and himself, and soliloquising said, “Well, tadpoles, if you can stand it I can,” and drank it off. (Laughter.) He made a compromise with the tadpoles. We wrote a letter to Mr. Lincoln, signed by every individual who was in the fort, telling him of the horrors of this prison, stating that we did not pretend to discuss the rightfulness of our imprisonment, but that we supposed we were entitled to the common rights of human beings. The result of that was that in about a month we were taken to Fort Warren. They put us on a vessel to be taken there by sea. The captain told me himself that the vessel was calculated to take about 250 persons, and they took 1100. We were 50 hours in making the voyage, and all that was given to us to eat during that time was a piece of raw fat barrel pork, perfectly raw, about the size of my hand, and three sea crackers, and I saw the poor soldiers eating that raw meat. We had

furnished ourselves with something better, but we could not feed them all with the little we had. We were placed afterwards in Fort Warren upon the naked floor, without bed or blanket, or anything—not a wisp of straw even, and there in that condition we had to remain until we supplied ourselves with such things as we needed, buying beds and bedsteads, and being allowed by a very kind, excellent, and humane officer, Colonel Dimmick—who, I believe, is a thorough gentleman, and who did all he could to alleviate our condition—being allowed by him to employ a cook and to buy provisions, we lived very comfortable there. This, gentlemen, is my experience.

Is it any wonder that the liberty-loving people of the North—a people who, for three-quarters of a century, have been exulting and expanding in the “largest sort of liberty;” should, at the first opportunity, cast their votes against the unconscionable despotism of the Lincoln Government! To show the duplicity of that Government, we need only quote Governor Morehead’s account of his interviews with Mr. Seward, and Mr. Lincoln, *before* the inauguration of the latter as President of the United States. It furnishes an interesting chapter in the history of the war; and illustrates the illogical position of an administration that has never seemed to know whither it was drifting:

The gentlemen selected as the persons to meet him

(Mr. Lincoln,) were Mr. W. C. Rives, of Virginia, formerly United States Minister to France, Judge Somers, from the same State, General Donovan, from Missouri, who distinguished himself in the Mexican war, Mr. Guthrie, who had been Secretary of the Treasury in Mr. Pierce's administration, and myself. At twelve o'clock his political friends had ascertained that he was in the city, and the room was filled, and Judge Logan came to us and informed us that we must defer the meeting until we could have it with him alone. Several days elapsed. We did meet him at about nine o'clock at night, and had a conversation of several hours' duration with him. I took occasion shortly afterwards, as well as I could, to write down that conversation. The substance of it was about this. Mr. Lincoln commenced the conversation, after receiving us very kindly, by stating that he was accidentally elected President of the United States; that he had never aspired to a position of that kind; that it had never entered his head; but that from the fact of his having made a race for the Senate of the United States with Judge Douglas, in the state of Illinois, his name became prominent, and he was accidentally selected and elected afterwards as President of the United States; that running that race in a local election his speeches had been published; and that anyone might examine his speeches and they would find that he had said nothing against the interests of the South. He defied them to point out any one sentence in all the various addresses that he had made in that canvas that could be tortured into enmity against the South, except, he remarked, one expression, namely, that "a house divided against itself must fall; they must either be all slave or all free States;" and he said that he explained afterwards that that was an abstract opinion, and never intended to be made the basis of his political action. He remarked at

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the same time that the clause in the constitution of the United States requiring fugitive slaves to be delivered up was a constitutional provision, was a part of the organic law of the land, and that he would execute that with more fidelity than any Southern man that they could possibly find, and he could not imagine what was the cause of the deep and apparently settled enmity that existed towards him throughout the entire South, looking at me at the time as if to invite an answer from me. I replied that he was very much mistaken if he supposed that the deep pervading feeling throughout the South originated in any personal enmity towards himself; that I did not suppose that there was any feeling of that kind on the part of an individual in the South; that he was the representative of a great party, of a merely sectional party, elected on a platform which they considered would, if carried out, be destructive of their dearest and best rights; and that it was on that account and that alone—the attempt to throw a common government, the government for all the States in antagonism to the interests of a portion of the very States whose government it was—which was the cause of the deep and settled feeling which existed throughout the entire South.

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He said that he was willing to give a constitutional guarantee that slavery should not be molested in any way directly or indirectly in the States; that he was willing to go further, and give a guarantee that it should not be molested in the district of Columbia; that he would go still further, and say that it should not be disturbed in the docks, arsenals, forts, and other places within the slave-holding States; but as for slavery in the territories, that his whole life was dedicated in opposition to its extension there; that he was elected by a party which



had made that a portion of its platform, and he should consider that he was betraying that party if he ever agreed, under any state of the case, to allow slavery to be extended in the territories. We pointed out to him that there was not an acre of territory belonging to the United States where the foot of a slave could ever tread ; that there were natural laws which would forbid slavery going into New Mexico, a mountainous region, and the colder regions of the North ; and that it was utterly impossible that slavery could ever extend there ; and we denied that a common government had power to make the prohibition, and asked him why, if he was a really true sincere Union man, have an empty prohibition, when the laws of nature were a stronger prohibition than any that could be passed by act of Congress.

Passing over the stale jokes and funny fables with which the President elect endeavoured to answer the arguments urged by this Committee of distinguished gentlemen, we come to the following remarkable passage :

Mr. Rives rose from his chair, and, with a dignity and an eloquence I have seldom heard surpassed in the course of my life, he appealed to him. I could not pretend to give even the substance of his speech, but I remember that he told him that he was then a very old man ; that there never had been a throb of his heart that was not in favour of the perpetuation of the Union ; that he came there with a hope and a wish to perpetuate it, and that all his efforts had been exerted in endeavouring to procure such guarantees as would perpetuate it ; but that he desired to say to him—and he said it with a trembling

voice—in order that he might know, and not say thereafter that he was not fully warned, that he agreed with every word I had said with regard to the horrors of this anticipated war, and that if he did resort to coercion, Virginia would leave the Union and join the seceding States. “Nay, sir,” he said, “old as I am, and dearly as I have loved this Union, in that event I go, with all my heart and soul.” (Hear, hear.) Mr. Lincoln jumped up from his chair, as Mr. Rives was standing, advanced one step towards him, and said, “Mr. Rives! Mr. Rives! if Virginia will stay in, I will withdraw the troops from Fort Sumter.” Mr. Rives stepped back and said, “Mr. President, I have no authority to speak for Virginia. I am one of the humblest of her sons; but if you do that, it will be one of the wisest things you have ever done. Do that, and give us guarantees, and I can only promise you that whatever influence I possess shall be exerted to promote the Union and to restore it to what it was.” We then all of us got up and were standing. I was on the outer circle. He said, “Well, gentlemen, I have been wondering very much whether, if Mr. Douglas or Mr. Bell had been elected President, you would have dared to talk to him as freely as you have to me.” I did not exactly hear the answer, but I am told that Mr. Guthrie answered him about in this way. “Mr. President, if General Washington occupied the seat that you will soon fill, and it had been necessary to talk to him as we have to you to save such a Union as this, I for one should talk to him as we have to you.” (Hear, hear.) That closed the conversation.

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With a duplicity—I dislike to say it of one holding that high station, I dislike to say it of one with whom I have been on terms of strict social intimacy, but I do say it, and I am compelled by facts to say it—with a

duplicity unparalleled, as far as my reading of history extends, he entered upon the duties of his office with a declaration that if there was a collision it should not be his fault, at the very time that he was preparing an armament in New York to reinforce Fort Sumter.

At about that time Governor Morehead met Mr. Seward, when it was generally understood that the defeated candidate for the Presidency, failing to secure the nomination at Chicago, had consented to be the Premier of the Lincoln Cabinet :—

In that state of affairs, and knowing the course that Mr. Seward—who, it had been announced to us, was to be the Premier of the incoming Administration—had pursued, I met him, and I do not deem it improper to say here, as I have said on other occasions, that he pledged his sacred honour that there should be no collision between the North and the South. (Hear, hear.) “Nay,” said he, “Governor Morehead,” laying his hand on my shoulder to make it more emphatic, “let me once hold the reins of power firmly in my hands, and if I don’t settle this matter to the entire satisfaction of the South in sixty days, I will give you my head for a football.” (Hear, hear.) Although I confess that I had but little confidence in Mr. Seward, I thought it utterly impossible that an honourable man could make pledges of that kind, and so shortly afterwards violate them in the most shameless manner.

The “sixty days” have ten times elapsed, and yet the Secretary fails to keep his word of

promise to end the war, or to do what would be almost equally acceptable to the country, *pay the forfeit*. As a cargo of *guillotines* are reported now on the way to the United States, the pledge may yet be redeemed, though not in the voluntary manner promised by the sanguine Secretary?

Again, we ask, is it strange that the people should repudiate the acts of a Government so weak and so wicked ; or that the political supporters of so imbecile an administration should be utterly defeated in the battle of the ballot-box ? Governor Morehead's revelations at Liverpool, republished in the newspapers, and in pamphlet form in New York, have had no small effect in producing what is called "the great revulsion of popular feeling in the North." He is not a member of the democratic party ; and, probably, never gave or received a "democratic vote" in his life ; but, as we have already shown, the names of political parties in the United States are changed ; and what were called "Old Line Whigs," of the class that kept Clay in the Senate, made Morehead governor, and defended the Union, are now identified with the democratic, or Conservative party ; and in the recent contest in the State of New York it was phenomenal, as well as pleasant,

to see such "silver grey Whigs" as ex-Governor Hunt, and ex-President Fillmore, fighting for the election of their old democratic adversary in the ranks with Fernando Wood, and John Van Buren; while Daniel S. Dickenson, an ultra "adamantine democrat," who, not three years ago, when fishing for Southern votes, almost wept that he was not a "born Virginian," shouted for Wadsworth with the maddest of the Radical rabble. Pithily exclaims the great poet, "What's in a name!" A nose by any other name would smell as well! And "Scripture Dick," as the late New York senator is popularly called, who always boasted of being the "hardest of the Hards,"—an out and out Southern rights, pro-slavery man, now yields, in the weakness of his senile ambition, to a party and a policy which contradicts his whole political career; and, according to his rather irreverent custom "on the stump," will doubtless quote the miraculous conversion of St. Paul in justification of his political inconsistency! And yet this venerable demagogue, who has so long lived and flourished on the "honours and emoluments" of the party he has betrayed, claims to be called a democrat still! It is for this, if for no other reason, that the party should insist on changing its name, and

getting rid of its ancient odors and incumbrances.

To return to the case of Governor Morehead:—one of the most “shining marks” and one of the most conspicuous victims of Black Republican despotism. While a prisoner in Fort Warren, in the harbour of Boston, on the 11th of November, 1861, in reply to a note from his old friend and brother Whig, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, Governor Morehead wrote the following letter, which we find in a volume of “Prison Manuscripts” in the possession of the Hon. Mr. Mason, the unrecognised Confederate Minister at the Court of St. James. The book is preserved “*in perpetuum rei*,” and contains the names of a long catalogue of honourable victims whose children’s children will be proud of their ancestors who were thus “persecuted for conscience sake,” and their country’s:—

DEAR SIR,

Col. Dimmick handed to me your note of the 5th inst., in which you express for me “every degree of respect and regard consistent with your love of the Union and your loyalty to the national Government,” accompanied with a box of sherry. Your qualification of the respect and regard for me I cannot allow myself to believe was intended as anything more than a declaration of your own devotion to the Union, rather than as an intimation

of any diminution of either for me, in consequence of my unfortunate position ; and so construing it, I thank you for your kind remembrance of me. The rule once was, that a man was presumed to be innocent until the contrary was shown ; but I regret to have to say that I have not received the benefit of that benign rule of law, as well as of common humanity. I was arrested by the Marshal of my State on a warrant for treason, and dragged out of my bed after midnight by a band of armed men under his control. The command of the warrant was to take me before the nearest judge, who was Judge Catron of the Supreme Court, then in the city of Louisville. Instead of taking me before the judge, in obedience to the command of the warrant, I was forcibly taken across the Ohio river, and hurried on in defiance of the writ of *habeas corpus* to Fort La Fayette. The officer, acting under the warrant as his only authority, disregarded its command, and violated of course his official oath ; and I have been incarcerated more than one thousand miles from home by the prostitution of the sanctity of the law under which I was taken in custody.

I may here add that the grand jury impanelled to investigate my case, and that of others, found no ground of suspicion even against me. It is true that I have expressed the opinion that the Union cannot be cemented by blood, and that opinion I still sincerely entertain. It is also true that I have uniformly advocated a rigid adherence to the Constitution, and denounced, as strongly as I knew how to do it, a violation, as I believed, of its most vital provisions.

My policy for Kentucky, or I ought to say that to which I agreed, was that of neutrality, and I adhered to it with fidelity and honor. This is my whole offence. It hath this extent, and no more. For this I was thrown into the loathsome prison of La Fayette, furnished with 14 lbs. of coarse straw, in a tick eighteen inches or

two feet shorter than I am, with one shoddy blanket, without a sheet, pillow, or pillow-case. I was placed in a casemate with thirty-six others, and four 32-pounder cannon, with their carriages, upon a brick floor, without fire, locked up at six o'clock in the evening with two candles for the whole number, afterwards reduced to one ; and my repose was constantly interrupted by the banging at the door of some poor sick prisoner trying to get out to obey the calls of nature. I suffered the agonies of many deaths from an attack of acute rheumatism in my right leg. I need not speak of the food. I tried it one day. It is absolutely sickening to think of it even now. But we were *kindly* and most graciously permitted to board ourselves, such as had the means to do so, at one dollar a day, and to furnish ourselves with beds and bedding and other necessary comforts.

The manner in which we were brought here beggars all description. It might well occupy an entire letter ; but I forbear to speak of it. We found this prison wholly unprepared for our reception ; and but for what we have purchased ourselves we would be now in a state of absolute destitution. There is still great suffering among the poorer prisoners ; but the officers have manifested so much kindness and concern for them, that no complaint on this account has been made.

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I trust that you will pardon this, perhaps uninteresting, detail to you. I feel deeply, of course, the wrongs of which I have been the victim. During the French revolution you know that prisons were gorged with persons who had committed no offence, and who could obtain no hearing ; and I had hoped that this lesson of history might not be altogether forgotten in this great national crisis. The cross was disregarded, and models of the guillotine worn instead. I have not yet heard of medals



being struck of La Fayette, though the head is bowed to its frown ; and it seems, alas, to be believed in by too many. At all events, I hope you will join me in the prayer, that we may not all have occasion to mourn over the year *One* of the new American liberty which has been established.

Respectfully,

C. S. M.

On the 20th of February, 1862, Governor Morehead addressed a long and eloquent letter to the Hon. J. J. Crittenden of Kentucky, from which we are permitted to make the following extracts. At some future day, now not distant, when the whole of this letter, and others of the same tenor, shall be permitted to circulate freely in the "Border States," they will "stir the very stones to mutiny and rage" :—

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Now, sir, will you pardon me for trespassing on your time a little longer, to add a few words as to myself? You know that I have been a sincere and *devoted* Union man. I can say, with an honest heart, that I do not believe that God ever placed a human being on this footstool of His more attached to it than I have been. The Union, as made by the Constitution, with a sacred regard for all its guarantees, has been with me an object almost of idolatry. When our unfortunate difficulties commenced, I laboured with you, if with less ability, certainly not with less zeal and anxiety, to avert the impending calamity. I entertained, however, a firm and an abiding

conviction, which time has only strengthened, that war between the sections could result only in a final and irrevocable separation, or, what to me would be far worse, the absolute subjugation of the section to which I belong, and the destruction of every material interest pertaining to it. I believed with Mr. Webster when he said, "I cannot express the horror I feel at the shedding of blood between any of the States and the Government of the United States, because I see in it a total and final disruption of all those ties that bind us together as a great and happy people;" and I believed still more strongly with him when he added, "I am for the Union, not by coercion, not by military power, not by angry controversies, but by the silken cords of mutual, fraternal, patriotic affection." Upon my honour I felt that I could willingly (I may not have had the physical courage), but I certainly felt that I could cheerfully lay down my life at any moment to preserve such an Union as that. I thought I saw, and time has confirmed the vision, what Coleridge has so strongly expressed, "Black ruin nursing the impatient earthquake, and the giant Frenzy waiting to overturn empires with its whirlwind arm."

I may well ask what I have done to subject me to the oppression under which I have so long suffered? I have said that I did not believe this Union could be cemented by blood. It is the sincere conviction of my heart still. Mr. Seward has said the same thing in as many as two speeches at least; and in his foreign despatch of the 10th of April he says, "The President willingly accepts the doctrine as true, that the Federal Government cannot reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest," and he adds, "only an imperial or despotic Government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State."

It is true I also denounced the reckless violation of all the most vital provisions of the Constitution. I thought,

as I still think, that this was every freeman's right. All that I ever said I embodied in my several addresses to the people of Kentucky. They are all published, and speak for themselves. I believe they will stand the test of time and of human scrutiny, and I will suffer death before I will retract one word. Whatever I said was before the last August election. I felt that I was a Kentuckian, was proud of my native State, had received the highest honors at her hands, and never by word or act indicated the slightest disposition to disobey her constituted authority. \* \* \* \* I have thus given you a full and candid history of my opinions and declarations. I have done nothing except to speak boldly the sentiments and opinions honestly entertained by me. I knew of no law which forbade my doing so. I thought that our Government was founded on the establishment of those great and cardinal principles which constitute the difference between a free constitution and despotic power. I laboured under what seems to have been a delusion, that it was divided into three separate and distinct departments, with appropriate powers confided to each which could not be exercised by either of the others. I did not know that the doctrine of our fathers on this subject had become obsolete, or could be put off and on like an old garment. I had been, perhaps unfortunately, educated in the belief that when the power that makes the law can construe it to suit his interest, apply it to gratify his vengeance, and execute it according to his own passions, there would be wanting no other feature to complete the picture of absolute despotism, and I denounced the exercise of any such power on the part of the officers of a constitutional government. I thought, as I cannot help still thinking, that it was the duty—a high and solemn duty—of every true and real patriot and lover of his country, to denounce with earnestness the first act of violation of the Constitution. When its boundaries are

once disregarded, we too soon become habituated and familiarized to the guilt, and become careless of the danger of a second offence, until proceeding from one violation to another we at length throw off all the restraints it has imposed, and very soon, though the semblance of its form may remain, its vitality will have fled for ever. In the worst days of English history, a Dr. Cowell wrote a book designed to establish the doctrine that the king was *solutus a legibus*, not bound by the laws. Parliament compelled James I. to issue a proclamation for the suppression of the book, but he soon after issued another against the licence of the tongue ; and we learn from the letter of the Bishop of Lincoln to the Duke of Buckingham, "That whosoever ventured in the most legal and constitutional manner to speak or write in opposition to the royal will had to do so at the peril of arbitrary imprisonment of *any* duration." Though the conduct of James has been pronounced tyrannical and despotic by all historians, yet *his* laws preceded the offence, and every man who chose might have avoided the penalty of disobedience. But how is it with those of us who have been imprisoned at the pleasure of the Secretary of State, not *only without any law*, but in open and flagrant violation of the most sacred guarantees of the highest law of the land ? He makes a secret law himself. I suppose it is the "higher law" of which we have heard so much, hid in the gloomy recesses of his own heart, wholly unknown to those who are to become its victims, by which he determines, according to his mere caprice, what acts, what words, what thoughts, or looks, shall deprive a freeman of his liberty ? This law he may vary with every gust of passion, or every cloud of suspicion, which shall agitate or darken his mind. In all candor, sir, to me it presents an image of the most fearful and diabolical tyranny. But it is a refinement upon this despotism to offer pardon by a public proclamation to

those who have violated no law whatever. I ask no pardon, and *never* will receive one. I hold my liberty in fee simple from God Almighty, and in due season I have full faith that He will vindicate His own act. The poor remnant of my life shall be dedicated to a just and righteous retribution. I believe that the day will come, as certainly as that God is just, when retributive justice will triumph. I look for it with a more anxious hope than ever the chosen people of God looked for the promised Messiah. My confidence in its advent is my only solace by day and by night. It mingles with the dreams of my wife and children, from whom I am still cruelly separated. History is not without examples of such retribution even upon earth. You may remember that in the second century the emperor Adrian had his own brother-in-law, an old man of ninety years of age, executed on *suspicion* of a conspiracy. When about to be beheaded the old man protested his innocence, and uttered a prayer that Adrian might wish to die and find death impossible. The imprecation seems to have been fulfilled. He was soon tortured with the most excruciating disease, and longed and prayed in vain for death. He implored his physicians and the priests to kill him, and offered large bribes to his slaves to take his life. He stabbed himself; but it proved not to be fatal, and only added to his torment. Thus lingering without the cessation of pain he is said to have composed that celebrated Latin ode, which Pope has paraphrased, beginning—

Vital spark, of heavenly flame,  
Quit, oh quit this mortal frame.

Can it be wrong in me to pray that my persecutors, like Adrian, may wish for death and find it impossible?

But what will the Conservative party do on

recovering their power in the State, and regaining ascendancy in the Federal Congress? What effect will the late elections have on the policy of the Lincoln Administration, domestic and foreign? These are questions now occupying the public mind on both sides of the Atlantic, and daily discussed with the deepest interest by the press and the people of both hemispheres. What will be the influence of this great Anti-Republican demonstration on the conduct of the war, and the prospects of peace? We answer, in a word, that the result of the election means peace;—peace, if possible, with the Union restored; but peace, with separation, if the South will so have it. It is true, the victorious party went to the polls with Union pledges on their banners, but they went for “the Union as it *was*; and the Constitution as it *is*,”—a voluntary Union, and an unviolated Constitution; not a Union of brute force, nor a broken and desecrated Constitution. All who voted for Seymour upon this “platform,” knew full well that the Union as it *was* is an utter impossibility. One may wish for the restoration of a shattered vase, but wishing for what *was* beautiful, alas, cannot bring it back. One might as well sigh for lost youth, lost fortune, lost honour, or any other bygone and irrevocable

blessing. The Union that *was*, before the tie was sundered, the States dissevered, and the land drenched in fraternal blood, is something infinitely better than the discordant disunion that *is*; but the simple declaration of the fact commits the party who makes it to nothing more than a regret at the disruption, with an implied condemnation of the men and measures that caused it. In the last Presidential canvass in the United States, the democrats throughout the Union, in the North, as well as in the South, predicted dissolution and war in the event of Lincoln's election; but, at the same time, they declared that *secession did not justify coercion*. Our readers, by this time, must be quite familiar with the abundant proofs and "authorities" which confirm this statement. The doctrines of State Rights and of Free Trade, have been from the beginning the two great pillars of the Democracy in America. Such was the democratic theory before the war, and such we believe is the opinion to-day, of the great Conservative party of the North, only settled into a profounder conviction by the dear-bought experience of utter failure in the fatal attempt to subjugate the seceded States. We will go further, and venture the assertion that, if the party which has so signally triumphed in the

battle of the ballot-box, were now in possession of the Government at Washington, that an armistice would be instantly proposed, and not another gun fired in prosecuting this unholy and unconstitutional war of coercion ; or, to adopt the word which expresses the brutal purpose of the Lincolnites, a war of "extermination." But, unfortunately, this triumphant party in favour of peace and harmony, obedience to constitutional law, and the rights of sovereign States, has yet two years to wait, as it were, in an inorganic state, before it can take possession of the reins of the Federal Government. In the next Congress, however, which comes into existence on the 4th of March, 1863, but which does not meet, unless an extra session is called, until the first Monday of the following December, there will unquestionably be a working Opposition majority in the Lower House. This majority is already secured ; and it will be doubtless strengthened by the elections to be held in the early spring. In the meantime the hopes of the people for peace, and freedom, and the restoration of their liberties, rest in the controlling power of the Empire State of New York, the government of which, on the first day of January, 1863, passes from the Black Republican hands of Major-



General E. D. Morgan (not quite clean in the matter of Federal contracts), into the stronger and more Conservative hands of Horatio Seymour, whose patriotism and ability, as Chief Magistrate of 4,000,000 of people, have already been tested and not found wanting. It was a significant exclamation of Judge Barnard,—one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the State of New York,—on the morning after Seymour's election : "The right of *habeas corpus* is restored!" From that day the Federal prison of Fort Lafayette lost its terrors ; and policeman Kennedy,—who had held in torture for several weeks, in one of his loathsome cells, a lovely lady of New Orleans, for no other offence than "singing Secesh songs at her window in Washington," is shorn of his "little brief authority." At all events he thought it prudent, with 40,000 majority against him in his own "police precincts," to let his captive bird go free. The Federal prisons of New York are not quite large enough to hold all the "traitors" who voted for Seymour, *habeas corpus*, freedom of speech, and the right of the people to govern themselves.

That the freedom of the press has been resumed by at least one New York journalist, if not restored by the Federal Government, we

need no better evidence than the eloquent and fearless article on the outrageous incarceration of Mrs. Brinsmade, which appeared in the editorial columns of the New York "World," the leading Conservative organ of the North, on the 12th of November last. As a specimen of ex-coriating severity, directed not only against the "brutal Kennedy," but against his masters at Washington, we have seen nothing fiercer or freer, or more indignantly defiant, in the columns of any American newspaper since the war began. The cautious and Conservative New York "Journal of Commerce," the organ of pious wealth and commercial respectability, dares to copy the "World's" invectives, which are now echoing and re-echoing throughout Europe. We have heard them read to select circles of men of all nations and "persuasions," who rose to their feet, and with flashing eyes declared themselves "ready to volunteer to fight against a tyranny so cruel and a despotism so contemptible."

It was *after* the election of Seymour, be it remembered, that the "World" dared to open its battery, and denounce the persecution of Mrs. Brinsmade. Are we not, therefore, right in claiming that the Democratic or Conservative party is not only in favour of an honourable

peace, but of freedom of speech and of the press, and the rights of the people, protected by constitutional law? A private letter this moment received from one of the leading citizens of New York—a zealous Democrat, and an ardent supporter of Seymour—closes with the following significant utterance: “*On the 1st of January we shall be free.*” But how free? And what can, or will, the Democratic party do, to secure the rights of the citizen, while maintaining the dignity of the law and the integrity of the Government? These are questions of great moment, and are anxiously asked the world over. We can answer only one of them. What Governor Seymour *will* do, when inaugurated Chief Executive of the Empire State, may probably be gathered from his Message to the Legislature, to be delivered on assuming the Gubernatorial Chair. We shall then, doubtless, have an inkling of his policy. What he *can* do is a matter which may be discussed with less presumption and greater certainty. In the first place, the Governor *can* forbid the movement of troops *from* the State, or *through* the State, for the purpose of obeying an unconstitutional call of the President to wage an unconstitutional war, or to enforce an unconstitutional Proclamation.

By thus exercising his legitimate authority, the Governor of the great and controlling State of New York has the power to accomplish one of two things :—He can compel the President to prosecute the war within the limits of the Constitution ; or, *he can block the wheels of the Federal Government.* The Democratic party of the North have openly denounced the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, as a gross and flagrant violation of the Constitution ; and a majority of the people of the North have pronounced their deliberate condemnation of it at the ballot-box. Will the Democratic party on coming into power in most of the Northern States on the very day the President's Emancipation edict goes into operation, permit the Federal Government to enforce it ; or compel the President to retract it ? In the vulgar parlance of the politicians, will Lincoln “back down, or go ahead ?” There can be but one consistent and logical answer to this question. Governor Seymour—and we take him as the most conspicuous and influential official representative of the Conservative party of the North,—will not fight for the enforcement of an impossible purpose—an unconstitutional Proclamation—of which the too easily ruled President who issued it said, “it would

be as inoperative as the Pope's Bull against the comet." In other words, he will not consent to a violation of the rights of the citizen, guaranteed by the most sacred forms of law, and embodied in the great organic instrument of Government, solemnly signed and sealed by the venerated "Fathers of the Republic." The Chief Executive of every Northern State will be forced by the declarations and resolutions of the party that elected him to take this position. It is the only safe and solid ground, or "platform," to stand on. This also, we believe, is the honorable and patriotic position of General M'Clellan; and this, too, is the real secret of his recent disgraceful removal from the chief command of the army. In his brief and pointed speeches to the crowds of citizens who are now saluting him with the "All hail hereafter," as well as in his former military "orders," General M'Clellan urges the people to "see that the war is prosecuted in accordance with the Constitution, and for the protection of the rights of the citizens;" and simply reminds the soldier of the duty of obedience—the soldier's only duty—to the supreme head of the Government and Commander-in-Chief of the army. No true friend of General M'Clellan can fail to congratulate him on being relieved

from a false position before the fatal day arrived when the army of the North would be ordered to fight for the enforcement of Lincoln's infamous Proclamation.

The question is also asked with much interest in Europe, whether Governor Seymour will have the power, as well as the disposition, to open Fort Lafayette and set free the prisoners who have been so long and so illegally confined, for "reasons of State," to use Mr. Seward's convenient excuse for depriving men of their liberties without law and against justice;—a very ancient phrase by the way, borrowed from the very worst of despots. Unfortunately the Governor of a State has no control over Federal prisons, or property, within his territorial jurisdiction; but he has the next best thing to it,—the right and the power to protect the sacred writ of *habeas corpus*; and woe to the Federal gaoler in New York who should *now* attempt to resist its service—a service involving the dearest rights of humanity—a law that, in the justice, the benignity, and equality of its operations almost deserves to be called divine. Such resistance has recently been successfully made in the city of Boston under the "higher law" authority of the Black Republican Governor Andrew, when Judge

Clifford of the Supreme Court of the United States, who issued the process, and to whom it was returned unserved, sadly confessed that he "had no power to enforce it!" That was a dark day in the history of Republican liberty ; but we must remember that this is *black* Republican liberty ; and that Massachusetts is the land where white men are enslaved and imprisoned in defiance of the law. Let us be thankful that Webster and Choate, those eloquent advocates of "Liberty *and* Union" have left it for another and a better world.

We now come to the question of questions so far as European readers and European interests are concerned : What effect will these victories of the ballot-box, which have restored to power the Democratic or Conservative party in the leading States of the North, have upon the policy of the Government at Washington, especially in reference to the movement of Foreign Powers for intervention or mediation ? The Emperor of the French, to whom too much praise cannot be given, has invited England and Russia to join him in recommending a six months' armistice to the belligerents, in order that the angry passions excited by the strife might have time to cool, and men, who have lost their reason, time to pause, reflect, and reconsider.

England, heedless of her starving millions, and regardless of all the incalculable costs, cruelties, and calamities of the war, refuses to accede to the humane and harmless proposition of France ; and Gortschakoff says ditto to Earl Russell ! And why does England refuse to unite with France and Russia in a simple prayer for peace ? Because she is afraid of provoking a war with the North. It is useless to deny, or disguise, the fact—this is the sole reason that prevents the British Cabinet from co-operating with the other great Maritime Powers, in a joint effort to bring about an armistice—the sure preliminary to peace, and the independence of the Southern Confederacy. Why does England occupy the position of “the poor cat in the adage, letting I *dare* not wait upon I *would*,” unless she is actually *afraid* that Mr. Seward will proceed to execute his “jocose” threat to the Duke of Newcastle, and declare war against the “Britishers” as an excuse, perhaps, for taking Canada in compensation for the loss of the South. The London “Times” confesses as much in its significant statement that, “if Virginia belonged to France, as Canada does to England, the Emperor never would have made his proposition for an armistice.” The Republican party, with Mr. Lincoln as the official head, but with Mr. Seward



acting as "the king behind the throne," is intensely hostile to England; and the moment there is a let up in the "big job on hand," as the President calls the Civil War he has provoked, no time will be lost in picking a quarrel with John Bull. An occasion will be made, if none exists; and the following semi-official declaration of the "New York Times" (the mouthpiece of the Secretary of State—the most influential Black Republican journal in the United States—edited by the aspiring Raymond, who, for the last ten years, has been "laying pipe" and "pulling wires" for a seat in the Senate), ought to be an eye-opener to the British Government. It is a bold and impudent menace; but we believe it expresses the real feeling and the deliberate purpose of the Black Republican party:—

"The time will come when America *will enforce* reparation from England for the *Alabama's* depredations. The most effectual cure for sectional heart-burnings will be a *foreign war* for a year or two. England has done all she can to break down America in her day of agony, and America *will hate England for it until the last American man living goes to his grave.*"

Behold the spirit, the prophecy, and the programme of the Lincoln administration! War

with England is Mr. Seward's fixed purpose. It is his last card, which he will play in the hope of uniting the now divided North, and thereby achieve the object of his life-long ambition. For the last quarter of a century Mr. Seward has had his eye on the Presidential Chair, and now he has but one chance left. His New York organ announces in November last the desperate gambler's last throw, which, we trust, will prove his overthrow. The question now is—and it is one of the most momentous interest—will the Democratic party, now the dominant party in the North, lend themselves to this mad political scheme of Mr. Lincoln's ambitious and reckless Secretary of State? Would a foreign war "cure the heart-burnings" caused by the late elections; and, as some good easy men of the North are dreaming, even reconcile the South to re-union?

Traditionally, the Democratic party are the "natural enemies" of England. The fundamental creed of the Democracy compels them to hate Royalty, in all its forms, phases, and features. The titles and privileges of Nobility are infinitely more odious to the genuine "hard-fisted, unterrified, unwashed, and fierce Democracie" of the North, than all the chains and pains of slavery. Especially is this true of the

Irish in America, and most of all of the Roman Catholic Irish, who hate England with a chronic hatred. Tens of thousands of these benighted and bigoted sons of Patland have been led to enlist in the crusade against the South under the promise, openly made, and a thousand times repeated, that, after subjugating, or exterminating, the people of the seceded States, and while the blood of the rebels is yet moist on their swords, they should be marched into Canada, and then, after subduing the province—a sort of ante-breakfast pastime—they should be transported over the Atlantic to capture the haughty “Mistress of the Seas” under the championship of expatriated Irishmen, Tramway Train, and Cassius Clay! Promises, declarations, and threats like these, have formed the staple arguments of the Meaghers, the Corcorans, and other notorious demagogues of the sword, the gown, and the pen, used to induce the poor hod-bearers from Ireland to become bearers of arms against the citizens of the South—men who had done them no harm—in other words, to *go to war without an enemy*, for the sake of the “bounty” bribe, and in the hope of ultimately revolutionising the Government of Great Britain!

But, as we have endeavoured to show, the



present so-called Democratic party—the party represented by Governor Seymour, is not entirely, nor chiefly, composed of the Anti-British element in America, of which the Hibernian forms the larger proportion. We repeat—the men who have cast their votes against Lincoln and his policy are *Conservatives*—not Radicals ; and the Conservative classes in all countries are opposed to war *per se* ; that is, they are men who have more to lose than to gain by war—which, at best, they regard as *the sum of all calamities*. That this party in the United States is now friendly to England we do not assert, nor do we believe such to be the fact. On the contrary, even the Conservatives in America are evidently more hostile than friendly to Great Britain, whose milk-and-water professions of “neutrality” have satisfied no party, neither in the North nor in the South. “He that is not for us is against us,” is a very ancient and truthful proverb ; and, as applied to the attitude of England, whose Government is “neutral,” but whose press and people are nearly all with the South, it is very keenly felt by all parties in the North. *England is against us*, is the universal feeling and confession on *both sides* of the line of Mason and Dixon. But, that this feeling among the Conservatives equals in bitterness

and intensity of hatred the *animosity*, as it must be called; of the party in power, with Seward as its truest representative, we do *not* believe; and, it is safe to add that, much as the Black Republicans hate England, the Democrats, or Conservatives, *hate the Black Republicans more*. If there were any such thing as logical consistency among the political parties in America, one would naturally expect to find in the Free Trade party nothing but goodwill towards England; and as the Democracy still continue to fight under Free Trade banners, England, and all other Foreign Powers friendly to peace, might reasonably rejoice at the "glorious victories" won in the North, in the late battle of the ballot-box. But names, as we have already seen, do not "signify things"—do not indicate ideas or represent principles in American politics. When a Democrat goes into the manufacturing business he becomes a protectionist—interest being his principle. Under the present prohibitory Federal tariff all the fires have been relighted in the Pennsylvania furnaces; and the Democracy of the "iron regions" are rejoicing in that "wise system of legislation which enables them to compete successfully with the pauper labour of Europe." This is the phrase they have been taught to

repeat, parrot-like, by capitalists interested in coal and iron mines, who, by the aid of the votes of their employes (whose bread depends on their votes) are generally aspiring to a seat in Congress. This is the brilliant career open to every unprincipled demagogue in the "Model Republic." Should order ever come from the present state of chaos, perhaps the people will have learnt sufficient wisdom, by experience, to pass a law prohibiting the payment of legislators, and forbidding "operatives" to vote for their employers.

Earl Russell, who alone prevents the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, not only by England, but by all the European Powers, gives as a reason for not complying with the benevolent and sagacious suggestion of Napoleon, that the time had not come ; that the temper of the North was too irritable to listen to good advice, and that the kindly overture of the Emperor would be rejected. And what if it were ? What possible harm could come to the peoples at war, or to the nations at peace, if these friendly words from a most friendly Power were unheeded or repudiated at Washington ? The language of the Emperor is not only respectful and courteous—it is kind and conciliatory, even to a tone of tenderness. He not only waves

the olive branch before the eyes of the belligerents, but it is the olive branch covered with flowers. Even the cold and unrelenting Cabinet at Washington, one would think, could hardly resist the sweet persuasion. But this rare and beautiful gem of peaceful and philanthropic diplomacy must be preserved entire in the amber setting of "Fraser."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, in conformity with the Emperor's commands, addressed the following despatch to His Majesty's ambassadors at London and St. Petersburg :—

*Paris 23rd October.*

"Sir,

Europe watches with painful interest the struggle engaged for more than a year past on the American continent. These hostilities have provoked sacrifices and efforts which cannot fail to inspire a very high idea of the perseverance and energy of the contending parties ; but this spectacle, which does so much honour to their courage, has been given only at the cost of numberless calamities and enormous bloodshed. To these effects of a civil war, which from the very first assumed vast proportions, is added the apprehension of a servile war, which would aggravate to the utmost so many irreparable calamities.

"The sufferings of a nation towards which we have always professed sincere friendship would have sufficed to deeply excite the Emperor's solicitude, even had we not ourselves been affected by the consequences of these events.

"Under the influence of the intimate relations which

the extension of trade has multiplied between the different regions of the globe, Europe herself has felt the consequences of the crisis which cut off one of the most productive sources of public wealth, and became for the great manufacturing centres a cause of the most painful trials.

"As you are well aware, Sir, we considered it our duty, from the beginning of the conflict, to preserve the strictest neutrality, in concert with the other great maritime Powers, and the Cabinet of Washington repeatedly recognised the good faith with which we have followed this line of conduct. The feelings which led us to adopt it remain unchanged; but, from imposing on the Powers an attitude which would resemble indifference, the friendly character of this neutrality must rather lead them to serve the interests of both parties by aiding them to escape from a position which, for the moment at least, appears to have no issue.

"There has existed between the belligerents, from the very outset of the war, an equality of strength which has been almost constantly maintained ever since, and after so much bloodshed, they are now, in this respect, very nearly in the same position as at first. Nothing justifies the expectation of any more decisive military operations at an early date. According to the latest intelligence received in Europe the two armies appear, on the contrary, in a condition which will not allow either to hope for any immediate advantages of sufficient importance to turn the scale definitively either way, and to accelerate the conclusion of peace.

"All these circumstances, Sir, seem to indicate the opportuneness of an armistice, to which, moreover, in the actual state of things, no strategic interest seems to oppose any obstacle. The feeling in favour of peace which is beginning to show itself in the North as well as in the South, might also second any steps which should be taken to recommend the idea of a truce.



“The Emperor has, therefore, thought the present occasion suitable for offering to the belligerents the aid of the good offices of the Maritime Powers, and His Majesty has charged me to make such a proposal to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty as well as to the Court of Russia. The three Cabinets would use their endeavours both at Washington and with the Confederate States, to bring about a suspension of arms for six months, during which all acts of war, direct or indirect, should provisionally cease by land and sea, and which might, if necessary, be further prolonged.

“These overtures, Sir, it is scarcely necessary to say, would not imply on our part any judgment as to the origin or issue of the difference, nor any pressure on the negotiations which, it is hoped, might be opened during the armistice. Our part would consist solely in removing obstacles, and in not intervening beyond the limits determined by both parties. In one word, we should not think ourselves called upon to prejudge, but to prepare the solution of the difficulties which have hitherto opposed all overtures between the belligerents.

“Moreover, would not the accord of the three Courts sufficiently answer for their intentions? Would it not give their proposal an evident character of impartiality? Acting in concert, they would unite the conditions best calculated to inspire confidence: the Emperor’s Government, by the constant traditions of French policy towards the United States; England, by community of race; Russia, by the proofs of friendship which she has ever shown towards the Cabinet of Washington.

“If the event should not respond to the hopes of the three Powers, and if the ardour of conflict should overbear the wisdom of their counsels, this attempt would be none the less honourable for them. They would have fulfilled a duty of humanity more especially indicated during a war in which passion renders any direct attempt at

negotiation difficult for both adversaries. It is a mission which public law assigns to neutrals, at the same time that it prescribes to them rigorous impartiality, and never would they have made a more befitting use of their influence than in exerting it to put a term to a struggle which causes so much suffering and compromises interests so extensive in every part of the world.

"Lastly, these overtures, even if they lead to no immediate result, would not perhaps prove entirely useless, for they would encourage the tendency of men's minds towards ideas of conciliation, and thus contribute to hasten the moment when the return of peace would become possible.

"I request you, Sir, to present these considerations in the name of His Majesty to Earl Russell (or Prince Gortschakoff), praying him to inform you of the intentions of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty (or the Court of Russia).

"You will also please to inform him that I have written in the same terms to the Emperor's ambassador at St. Petersburg (or at London).

Accept, etc.,

"DROUYN DE LHUYS."

The Foreign Minister of England refuses to sign this benevolent *petition*, as we may call it, for an armistice, from fear of offending the war party, and the war jobbers of the Northern States! And yet the proposal for an armistice simply means the respite of innumerable victims from imminent danger and death; and seeks to stay the shedding of human blood.

And who in America, either in the North or

in the South, could object to so humane and life-saving a proposition? Would the soldiers of either army, whose hearts are used as bullet-targets, object to, at least, a temporary suspension of hostilities, and of the dangers and disasters of war? Would the friends and the relations—the wives and the little ones—of these 1,200,000 men, now marching with throbbing hearts into “the jaws of death,” object to a six months’ reprieve—a little breathing space in the midst of the strife—a holiday from the roar of battle and the smell of carnage—to visit their homes and embrace the loved ones now waiting in sad apprehension of the tidings that shall make them widows and orphans? Is there a friend of peace, of humanity, of that social order which is Heaven’s first law, throughout all the length and breadth of the late American Union, who would not hail an armistice with demonstrations of devout and grateful joy? Let the war party—the devil’s own party—abuse the Emperor as they will for his pacific purpose, and rejoice in England’s non-co-operation. The money-making contractors, and jobbers of two thousand years ago, who made shrines and trinkets for their idol of Ephesus, were bitterly opposed to the “Gospel of Peace;” the song of the heavenly harbingers

of the new dispensation was anything but sweet music to the devotees of Diana. Human nature is just as selfish to-day as it was then ; and all who grow rich in fabricating the ornaments, or in forging the thunderbolts of war, will always cry aloud against an armistice. These speculators in death and destruction are like wreckers, living on disasters, who delight in stormy seas and tempestuous gales, for the treasures cast ashore ; and who regard a "season of calm weather" as a providential calamity. Of course, these jackalls of the army, will violently protest against anything, and everything but "the crushing-out policy"—the "vigorous prosecution of the war ;" for, with the return of peace, their "occupation's gone." Was it to conciliate *this* party that the timid Cabinet of Christian England declined to unite with France in the recommendation of an armistice ! If so, England will find, too late, perhaps, that her "sop to Cerberus" will not save her from the wrath to come. The Black Republican party, now "nursing its wrath to keep it warm," will repay England's "neutrality" in the way declared by the "New York Times." In addition to the motive of fear, the Americans charge England with motives of interest in refusing to interfere, or to recognise the Cotton

Confederacy. Every dollar invested in the India trade is *a reason* in favour of the war, and the destruction of American commerce; and thus her material interests in the East render England callous to the calamities which are destroying her "blood relations" in the West. These are hard sayings, but they are in everybody's mouth on the American side of the Atlantic.

The effect of England's refusal to send a "life-boat" to the struggling combatants in a sea of blood is even more unsatisfactory to the Government and the people of the South than of the North. The South never wanted war. They only wanted to be let alone; and they want nothing now but peace—and independence. Re-union with their enemies is an utter impossibility. It would be like asking a wife to return to the bed of a husband who had kicked her out of doors and murdered her children before her eyes. There is an impassable gulf of blood between the belligerents. Separation is inevitable; and the sooner the better. Even the London "Morning Post"—Lord Palmerston's organ, as it is commonly called, says, in a recent issue, "The independence of the South is morally certain." Then, why not recommend an armistice at once, and

go one step further and recognise the Confederate Government, which Mr. Gladstone declares President Davis has "established!" Why not make friends with at least one of the belligerent parties! The policy of England makes enemies of both;—a great diplomatic blunder, as time and events will soon show, and the British Ministry will learn its truth by the loss of support, if not of power, before the "Ides of March."

Suppose the worst happened, and the joint proposition of the Great Powers should be insultingly declined at Washington; suppose the Government of Lincoln should be insane enough to declare war against England; or even carry out the threat of Yankeedom, and declare war "against all creation." All Europe would be compelled to sustain England; while the South would spring like a panther upon the back of its foe the moment a move was made against Canada. They who dream that a foreign war would bring back the South, and "cure all sectional heart-burnings," know nothing of the temper and determination of the Southern people. Little cause as the Confederate States have to love England for her cold and cruel "neutrality," in this desperate contest between the "love of liberty and the lust for empire,"

they would join England, and any other Power on earth, in a war of retribution against the North. A man's bitterest foes are they of his own household, and the South hates the North with "a perfect hatred. This one deadly—

Passion in the *Southern* breast  
Like Aaron's serpent swallows up the rest.

Let the mothers of England read the following letter, written by one of the first ladies of Kentucky to her exiled son in Europe, and judge if such anguish and such enmity as this can be cured by making war on a foreign foe while the great wrong at home remains unavenged!

*November 7, 1862.*

My dear Son,


I know you have waited and watched from time to time in expectation of a more speedy answer than this to your dear and much valued letter. I thought that I would reply to it immediately, but see how I have deluded myself, as well as inflicted pain, no doubt, on you. But I could not help feeling that I would like a little more news to add, some further development of the country's situation, by which I might impart a gleam of hope and happiness to you in your far distant sojourn. But oh, desolation! the desolation of our beloved South is all that meets the eye or ear. We stand appalled, not knowing when Federal atrocities will have an end. Insanity rules the hour. To this date, there have been three thriving villages in Northern Alabama, three in Louisiana—Prentiss and Randolph on the Mississippi

river, Charlestown and several others in Western Virginia, all razed to the ground. Kentucky, from present appearances, before you return, will be one vast desert—some counties are now desolated, not a fence or an inclosure standing, everything for the support of man or beast carried off or wantonly destroyed. The men left home generally to join the Southern army, and the women in consequence of it, driven out of doors, and the house, if at a convenient point, taken for officers' quarters, while everything of value, especially plate, is sent off as *trophies* of victory. Magnificent vases, rare and costly clocks, candelabras, fine linen sheets, silk quilts, carpets, are broken or cut to pieces, so that not even bandages could be made from the linen. In a word, the Federal army have committed depredations wherever they have been stationed, or encamped, and in many instances where they have marched by. Judge M.'s daughters were sent from their home at the point of the bayonet, twenty armed men on each side of them, followed by others in the rear, while others robbed the house of all their plate.

. . . . . I cannot tell you where your dear brother is, for I do not know. He waited and waited on account of my importunity for him to remain with me, until he said he could wait no longer, and just then a Federal committee called on him, although only a little more than sixteen years old, and told him that he must either join the army or work on the entrenchments. He replied that he would die before he would ever raise his arm against the South—noble boy, how could I then refuse his request. He has gone, but oh how my heart bleeds when I think of it. So young, with such good habits, so guileless in heart, and so pure in thought, I cannot help dreading his exposure to a camp-life, and to those vices which so often corrupt the young. One soldier is not much added to the great cause he loves, but that one is a host to me.




What, then, has England gained by her diplomatic refusal? She has gained an enemy, and lost an ally; while France has gained a friend, whose trade alone, when the blockade is raised, will be worth tens of millions a-year. The Southern Government will pass tariffs more favourable to France than to any other country in return for this well-meant service of the Emperor. The great agricultural nation of the new Confederacy will prove a new *el dorado* to the merchants and manufacturers of France, under the reciprocal benefits of absolute Free Trade; while French vessels will be employed in preference to all others in the transportation of sugar and cotton, of silks and wines. As the Emperor takes no step backwards, he will doubtless be the first to recognise the independence of the Confederacy, and reap the first golden harvest of peace. In the meantime, what hinders the Government of France from buying cotton in New Orleans, and sending it to Havre? Is Napoleon aware that in the treaty which ceded Louisiana to the United States, *the free navigation of the Mississippi was guaranteed for ever?* The Lincoln Government have no more right to interfere with the trade of the "Father of Waters" than they have to interdict the commerce of the "high seas." We



trust the hint here given may help to relieve the distress of the "Cotton famine." Or, shall the unconstitutional edict of Abraham Lincoln continue to keep millions in Europe in a state of starvation! We may also here state that, when Georgia and the Carolinas entered the Federal Union, it was specially stipulated that their respective ports should be *for ever free to the commerce of the world*. The South, therefore, justly claims that the blockade is a violation of the fundamental agreement, which, in itself, justifies the war against the Federal Government.

As these pages go to press, we learn that the prison doors are opened, and the political prisoners set free! Arrested without a cause, and incarcerated without a crime, these long-suffering victims of Federal wrath are liberated without a reason given, or a condition imposed! In the absence of any official explanation of this act of tardy justice, we shall venture to attribute Mr. Seward's wholesale "order of liberation" to the simple motive of *cowardice*, mingled, perhaps, with a slight feeling of shame, caused by Governor Morehead's recent exposition of prison fare and prison life. The triumph of the Democracy, and the motion of Napoleon—a clap of thunder followed by an earthquake—

has caused the trembling in the White House which unbars the Bastiles of the North. Let these accursed monuments of Black Republican tyranny be speedily razed to the ground ; and, of the dishonoured ruins, let bridges be made, that the feet of the people may trample on them for ever ! Thus was it in France after the Reign of Madness and of Terror ; and thus may it be in America on the return of Reason and of Peace.



## APPENDIX.



# APPENDIX.

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## AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED IN ST. JAMES'S HALL, DEC. 19, 1861.

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MR. CHAIRMAN AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

A recent startling event, of which all Europe is keenly cognisant—the arrest of the British mail steamer *Trent* by the American war steamer *San Jacinto*—has turned anew the attention of peoples and Governments to the state of feeling and affairs in the late united and happy States of America. It is simply owing to the fact that I have personally watched and witnessed the progress of events on both sides of the dividing line between the North and the South that I am invited to appear before you this evening.

As I am but little in the habit, ladies and gentlemen, of addressing public assemblies, I must beg you at once to dismiss all expectation of oratory, and hear me simply for my cause—a grave and momentous one—which I literally approach with fear and trembling.

In order to come to a more direct and familiar understanding, I will begin, as they say in Parliament, with a “personal explanation,” an apology, if necessary, for attempting to discuss the difficult and dangerous question that now rends and divides my unhappy country.

An utter stranger, perhaps even by name, to almost all

who hear me, permit me to say, by way of introduction, that I am an American citizen, a native of the North—of New England. I was born near that famous Rock—the stepping-stone of the New World, on which my ancestors and namesakes landed from the little shallop of the *Mayflower*, in the memorable winter of 1620 ; and I was brought up at the feet of Webster, the great expounder of the American Constitution, the indefatigable defender of the American Union. I sat by his death-bed at Marshfield, and saw him laid

In his grave by the sounding sea ;  
In his sepulchre, there by the sea !

His great and glowing speeches in defence of the Union, which, next to the solar system itself, he admired and revered, were my earliest schoolboy declamations ; and the solemn prayer that his last sun might set before our Union should be broken and destroyed, has never ceased to reverberate like a Cathedral *Miserere* through the hills and valleys of New England. In his memorable debate in the Senate in reply to Hayne of South Carolina, Mr. Webster closes in a lofty strain of prophetic sadness scarcely equalled since the days of the Prophet Jeremiah :—

When my eyes shall turn to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonoured fragments of a once glorious Union ! on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent ! on a land rent with civil feud, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood ! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honoured throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies shining in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured ; bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as “What is all this worth ?” nor those other words of delusion and folly, of “Liberty first and Union after-

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wards!" but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that *other* sentiment dear to every American heart—*Liberty and Union*—now and for ever—one and inseparable.

Surely, since the inspired seer foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, no coming event was ever more fearfully or faithfully foreshadowed.

As editor, for some fifteen years, of a daily journal in the city of New York—a journal that never faltered in its persistent opposition to Abolitionism on one hand and Secessionism on the other—I claim to have done what little I could to preserve the Union and avert the calamity of dissolution, which required no prophet to foresee inevitably approaching.

Before the golden bowl of our hopes was broken, or the silver cord that bound us together was loosened, the Conservatives of all parties, both North and South, were chanting perpetual pæans to our "glorious Union." It was the very god of our political idolatry. Who has not heard a thousand times repeated the beautiful apostrophe of our poet Longfellow—the Tennyson of America—the Laureate of the Republic :—

Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State!  
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!  
Humanity, with all its fears,  
With all its hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!  
We know what Master laid thy keel,  
What Workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,  
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,  
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,  
In what a forge and what a heat  
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!  
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,  
'Tis of the wave, and not the rock—



'Tis but the flapping of the sail,  
And not a rent made by the gale.  
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,  
In spite of false lights on the shore,  
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea.  
Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee :  
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,  
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,  
Are all with thee—are all with thee !

To come to a consideration of the *causes* which have led to this fratricidal war in America. Having confessed myself a devoted disciple of the great apostle of Unionism, I am sure I shall not be accused of any local leaning or natural proclivity to Secessionism. I am proud to have belonged to that political party to whom was given, in derision, the name of "Union-Savers"—a party guided by such great lights as Webster and Clay—the very central suns of our political firmament—around whom revolved, each in his degree, Fillmore, Everett, and other lesser orbs. This party was composed of the great body of Conservatives, North and South, who laboured in Congress and out of Congress for the passage of the famous Compromise Bill of 1851—by which the impending dissolution was postponed a few years longer.

In discussing a question upon which the opinions of men so widely, so warmly, and so deeply differ—a question involving the most momentous interests, and exciting the most intense antagonisms of feeling—I propose to deal simply with facts, without obtruding opinions or hazarding predictions. He was a prudent Irishman who deemed it always safer to prophecy *after* the event. I am well aware of the danger of giving sectional offence and of provoking personal contradiction. While twenty millions of people on one side, and ten millions on the

other, are hotly disputing the question of right and wrong at the point of the bayonet, the same relative positions are everywhere encountered. Every drawing-room is a forum, and every bar-room a battle-field. The South asserts a right which the North denies ; hence the collision which rends the Union asunder. In regard to the abstract right of Secession I have but little to say. It is a question upon which our greatest statesmen are as "wide as the poles asunder." It is enough to know that the people of the South most religiously believe in it ; and they have surely proved their faith by their works.


A plain statement of facts certainly ought not to give offence ; and yet, while there is nothing which men so much love and fear as truth, with the exception of pure mathematical facts, there is nothing about which even the most honest of men so much differ. In arriving at a just judgment upon the merits of this great controversy, a candid mind wants nothing but a simple record of past events. And such, ladies and gentlemen, is the history I shall endeavour to relate.

As every human body is born into the world with the seeds of death already sown in its system, so the causes of the dissolution of the American Union lie deep, and extend far back, reaching even beyond the foundation of the Government.

In the first place, the American system is one of logical inconsistencies and political incongruities. The theory of State sovereignty and Federal supremacy is not only a gross absurdity in terms, but a simple impossibility in fact. The universe itself could not long remain an harmonious universe with two supreme powers at the head of it—much less with thirty-four independent sovereignties !

As a mere *theory*, the doctrine of State sovereignty was harmless enough—except that it has served to fill our Congressional library with innumerable volumes of wrangling debates; but the first moment of its *practical* assertion by the taking of a Federal fort in the harbour of Charleston, the incoherent fabric fell to pieces; the *voluntary* Union of the States was dissolved; the favourite dogma of Democracy, that “Governments must rest upon the consent of the governed” repudiated; while the new doctrine of a *coerced Union* was decided upon at Washington. And this somewhat anomalous doctrine for a Republic is now being preached by Federal cannon and enforced by Federal bayonets! You might as well attempt to force the union of fire and gunpowder.

But the causes of this great quarrel between the North and the South extend beyond the foundation of the Government—beyond the Union of the old thirteen States—beyond even the original compact of self-government drawn up in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, and signed by forty-one fugitive pilgrims, each one of whom, in his hatred of human authority, and in his pride and stubbornness of opinion, erected himself into a sort of “free and independent sovereignty,” to exult and expand in the wild liberty of the Western wilderness, protesting against all codes, and persecuting all creeds, except his own. The North was settled by the Puritans, the South was planted by the Cavaliers; and in this radical fact lie the seeds of perpetual antagonism. It is not necessary to dwell upon the peculiar traits of New England Puritanism—it slaughtered Indians, hung Quakers, burnt Baptists, drowned witches—got rich in the slave-trade, and then turned Abolitionist! Is not this identical with that spirit of intolerance and persecution which put to cruel



and ignominious death the divinely-inspired preacher of Jerusalem, some two thousand years ago, when "the base Judean threw a pearl away richer than all his tribe?" But in denouncing this spirit of bigotry I do not wish to impeach my own ancestors. The Pilgrim Fathers possessed many heroic virtues; and, in judging the faults and even the crimes of men, there is always something to be pardoned to the necessities of the situation :—

There were men with hoary hair  
 Amid that pilgrim band—  
 Why had they come up to wither there,  
 Far from their childhood's land?

There was woman's fearless eye,  
 Lit by her deep love's truth;  
 There was manhood's brow serenely high,  
 And the fiery heart of youth.

What sought they thus afar?—  
 Bright jewels of the mine?  
 The wealth of seas? the spoils of war?—  
 They sought a Faith's pure shrine.

Aye, call it holy ground,  
 The spot where first they trod;  
 They have left unstained what there they found—  
*Freedom to worship God.*

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of English history of the difference of character between the Round-heads of Cromwell and the Cavaliers of Charles. Cotton Mather of Massachusetts and Lord Baltimore of Maryland were not more unlike in religion and dress two hundred years ago than the principles and habits of our Northern and Southern States from that day to this; and in this original, radical difference in the very elements of the people we find, at least, a tendency to controversy and conflict. Webster and Hayne, who so eloquently

represented the great controversy in the Senate, also represented the feelings of their constituents—the antagonisms of New England and South Carolina. Next to the primitive differences of origin, religion, and education come the elementary modifications caused by soil, by climate, and by occupation. Human organisations consist of nothing more or less than particles of earth drawn from the particular spot in which they “live and move and have their being;” and the wines of different vineyards are not more unlike in flavour and bouquet than are the characters and dispositions of peoples of different climates and localities. Take, for instance, the French and English—“lands intersected by a narrow Frith”—the one composed of chicken, chowder, and champagne—the other of beef, bread, and beer; the one sparkling, piquant, and volatile—the other steady, sturdy, and substantial. This is not fancy, but *fact*. Every one knows that the women of England, France, and Italy are just as unlike as the skies, the flowers, and the fruits of their respective countries. There are not only temperate, tropical, and frigid zones of the earth, but there are temperate, tropical, and frigid hearts beneath them. These national differences are neatly touched by our poet Holmes, the Tom Hood of America :—

The gay grisette whose fingers touch  
Love's thousand chords so well,  
The dark Italian, loving much,  
But more than one can tell;

And England's fair-haired, blue-eyed dame,  
With brows adorned with pearls—  
Ye who have seen them, can they shame  
Our own sweet Yankee girls?

The influence of climate and soil upon character and temperament can hardly be over-estimated. There is as

much difference of habit and disposition between a Vermont farmer and an Alabama planter as there is between an English shopkeeper and an Italian nobleman. Even had the origin of the two sections been the same, two hundred years of diverse life and occupation would have made the North and the South essentially a different people.

In the American States of the North the masses of the people are inured to rugged fields, hard work, and rough weather. Under the stern stimulus of necessity the body is strong and the mind active. Free schools supply the elements of thought, and free institutions are a perpetual inspiration to political ambition. In the North men work for a living and scheme and speculate for a fortune : and such employment of time and talent is but the natural result of soil and climate.

In the sunny South, whose inhabitants bask


In that softer clime that lies  
In ten degrees of more effulgent skies,

labour, which is seldom a luxury, becomes less a necessity. The very climate relaxes the muscles—the river of life flows dreamily through the veins—while the spontaneous fruits of the earth render a castle-of-indolence—*dolce far niente*—sort of existence something more than a poet's dream. Under the institution of domestic slavery, manual labour is not only considered irksome, but derogatory. And thus, while the great majority of the North are paying the penalty of "man's first disobedience"—earning their bread by the sweat of their brows—the South is earning its bread chiefly by the sweat of its negroes. What child cannot discern in these widely-marked contrasts of soil, climate, and occupation,

constant causes of social dispute and political disagreement ?

Another dissimilarity, perhaps still more directly tending to discord and disunion than any previously named, exists in *the widely different legislative policy of the opposing sections*. The North struggles for protection to its manufacturing interests, while the South urges free-trade and open markets with all the world for the exchange of its agricultural products. Here the difficulty is simply a financial one ; and the Tariff and anti-Tariff parties are equally composed of men, fighting, not for an abstraction, but for their own pockets. Upon this question never a Congress convenes at Washington, but the old battle is fought over and over again with more or less ability and bitterness. The fact that the Democratic party of the North has always had a nominal free-trade plank in its "platform," has not only enabled the Democracy to keep in power for more than two-thirds of the duration of the Government, but it has given to the South eight out of the sixteen Chief Magistrates of the Union. The State of Virginia rejoices in the name of "the Mother of Presidents." But in order to show how very little any political dogma has to do with practical legislation, I need only advert to the fact that the Democratic party of Pennsylvania, while flaunting the free-trade banner in its election processions, clamours loudly for protection to coal and iron in the Legislature ! It makes a vast difference with a man's opinion whether it is *his* bull or his neighbour's that is gored in the fight.

Having glanced at a few of the remoter causes—such as the difference in origin, religion, soil, climate, habit, and interest, I now come to the more direct and immediate cause of the American dissolution ; and I pronounce



it in one word—ABOLITIONISM. Abolitionism caused the war—Secessionism precipitated it.

But here, ladies and gentlemen, it is necessary to state the peculiar kind and form of Abolitionism that has divided, dissevered, and destroyed the harmony and the union of the American States. It is purely a political, and not a social Abolitionism that has done the mischief,—the Free-soilers of Congress, and not the emancipation philanthropists of Boston or of “Exeter Hall,” that have driven the South into secession. The Lincoln Administration represents the Free Soil, not the Abolition party, pure and simple. This Free Soil or Republican party, which has been growing in power and pugnacity since its inauguration under President Van Buren, is strenuously opposed to the admission of new Slave States—not on moral grounds, not because it would increase the number of slaves or the evils of slavery, but because every new State adds two new members to the Senate, and every new Southern senator is an additional check upon the sectional legislation of the North—upon tariff laws, navigation laws, and internal improvement laws, enacted for the protection and aggrandisement of Northern manufacturers, traders, and politicians. The social or sentimental Abolitionists are comparatively insignificant in numbers and influence, with scarcely a representative in Congress, and certainly not one in the Cabinet. When Fremont proclaimed liberty to the slaves of the “rebels” in Missouri, “Off with his head!” was the decree of the “White House!” South Carolina, which from her peculiar position had little to fear of loss by stolen or runaway slaves, was the first to secede; and for this simple political reason—the ever-increasing power and adverse legislation of Congress. South Carolina wants the wines



and the silks of France, and the cloths and calicoes of England *duty free*; and she wants to pay for the same with her own cotton, without sending it to New York to have every bale clipped by every speculating hand through which it passes on its dwindling way to Manchester. Were the North to purchase every Southern slave to-day, at the highest market price, the political and financial differences of the two sections would be a perpetual cause of wrangling, if not of war. And, therefore, it may be reduced to an aphorism—that the same government, is not the best government, for dissimilar climes and peoples.

As I am endeavouring simply to state facts, and not to advance opinions, I shall enter into no discussion of the abstract rights and wrongs of slavery. The fact that the institution of domestic negro slavery is spread over a territory in America as large as all Western Europe, is one that should be recognised in all its gigantic proportions and bearings.

It is not a question to be disposed of by the flippant-tongued sentimentalism of "Exeter Hall," nor washed out by sympathetic tears shed over the imaginary woes of fictitious "Uncle Toms" and impossible "Little Topsys." Slavery in some form has always existed. The Northern States, like Liverpool and Bristol, formerly made money in the slave trade, and only abolished the institution when it ceased to pay. The South finds profit in it, and therefore retains it. The negro, like a black snake, can sleep under a burning tropical sun at mid-day; and the negro alone can work profitably the rice, and cotton, and sugar-fields of the South. But then slavery is a great and grievous wrong, say the so-called philanthropists of the North; and being implicated in the crime by its con-

stitutional recognition, we will go to work and get rid of it, even at the hazard of the dissolution of the Union. Never mind what calamities may come to twenty-six millions of the white race—these four millions of Africans must be set at liberty—at liberty to work, or wander, or steal, or starve. The press, the pulpit, and the political demagogues of the North mount the black hobby, and Abolitionism rampant is the rage of the hour. The sweets of freedom are depicted in Utopian colours, whilst the horrors of slavery are made more terrible than the tortures of Dante's "Inferno."

Poets, novelists, and dramatists vie with the pulpit and the press in exaggerating the cruelty of the master and the sufferings of the slave. And let it never be forgotten that the most noisy and notorious of all these anti-slavery writers and preachers know nothing *practically* of the institution they misrepresent and denounce. They have never lived in the South—never even travelled in the Southern States. Suppose some American romancer who had never visited England should hear or read of a few cases of wife-whipping, husband-poisoning, child-concealing, outrages by cabmen, and other horrible crimes, and undertake to base upon these rare exceptions a work on the moral and social condition of England! The book, no doubt, might be spicy and popular; but it would be a lie and a libel from beginning to end. Has not similar injustice been done to the South by the whole school of Abolitionists, both of England and America, who have written and preached so much of what they really know so little?

Mr. Boucicault, who, in his popular drama of "The Octoroon," has drawn a most improbable, if not impossible picture of Southern slavery, has had the courage to state,

in a recent letter to the London "Times," that in all his travels in the Southern States, and after residing for a considerable period in the State of Louisiana, he has never witnessed a single instance of the maltreatment of the slave.

After travelling and sojourning in every Southern State, except Texas and Florida, I can corroborate the testimony of Mr. Boucicault, and assert that I have never seen a blow struck, and rarely heard a harsh word given to a slave. I have seen them at work in all their various agricultural and mechanical employments—in the rice-field, the cotton-field, the sugar-cane field, and the tobacco-field ; I have seen them in their churches, in their Sunday schools, and in their evening dances ; and a happier, healthier, better fed, or more lightly-tasked class of labourers I have never anywhere seen, either in Europe or America. No doubt there are cases of individual tyranny and cruelty ; and in what community of freemen may not be found isolated cases of severity and suffering ? Even husbands sometimes beat their wives and inhumanly treat their children. But the master who ill-treats his slaves is everywhere detested and avoided. Even ladies have been "cut" by their acquaintances, and "sent to Coventry," when accused of ill-usage of their slaves. And yet the Christian Abolitionists of the North refuse communion with their own brethren of the South, and denounce *all* slave owners as unworthy of Christian fellowship or toleration ! Is it possible for a people so incompatible in feeling, opinion, and interest to "dwell together in unity ?" The antagonisms are intensified into hatred, and the result is open war. Am I wrong, then, in asserting that Abolitionism, political and social, is the direct cause of the separation of the South and the

dissolution of the American Union? The Fugitive Slave Law, enacted and re-enacted by Congress for the restoration of stolen or runaway negroes, was repudiated and evaded by the North; Abolition publications and preachers and teachers were surreptitiously sent into the South for the purpose of inciting servile rebellion; strychnine was conveyed to the slaves for the destruction of their masters; the so-called "Underground Railroad" had already succeeded in smuggling into Canada some forty thousand victims of Abolition philanthropy, where they have become a burthen upon the State and anything but an ornament to society. One often hears these poor ragged wretches, on a cold winter's night, in their frozen Paradise of "Liberty,"

Still sighing for the old plantation,  
And longing for the old folks at home.

The personal attachment of the slaves to their masters is one of the warmest, strongest, and most faithful of human relations. The head of the helpless and solitary little white family of the cotton-planter, living isolated and remote, beyond the sight of the smoke of any neighbour's chimney, sleeps more soundly and securely, with his doors unbarred, amidst his thousand slaves, than any monarch of Europe surrounded by standing armies. And yet we are constantly told that the slave owners of the South live in a state of perpetual fear and peril! An eloquent Abolitionist, more than a quarter of a century ago, gave such emphatic and euphonious utterance to this falsehood, that it still echoes and re-echoes through the world, exciting a thrill of horror in every maternal heart: "Never a night-bell rings in Richmond, but the mother presses her infant closer to her breast!"

I will only repeat the fact, that the kind and humane master, in accordance with Nature's eternal law of reciprocity, always finds his slaves more anxious to protect and serve than to assail or injure him. It is only the coarse and brutal tyrant, political or domestic, whose cruelty and injustice provoke resistance and revenge, that has any reason to fear either his subject or his slave. But still the Abolition irritation and aggression is crowded on. The great crisis is impending over the heads of the devoted South; and there are times when a whistle in the Alps will bring down the avalanche.

The John Brown raid in Virginia—its horrible purpose, its signal failure, and its startling effect—agitated the land from sea to sea, upheaving, like an earthquake shock, the very foundations of the Union. This stern old fanatic, like Samson in the temple of the Philistines, in the blindness of his rage, and the strength of his hate, shook in his fall, to their very centre, the pillars of the American Republic. And yet, in the blasphemous language of a Massachusetts Abolitionist, "John Brown's execution has made the gallows as glorious as the cross!" The malignant anti-slavery animosity of the North, so long pervading and perverting the politics, the pulpit, and the press, became concrete and organic by the purely sectional election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency—a man who had long ago made public declaration of his policy by asserting that "the States must be all slave or all free." The people of the South found in these brief words nothing less than a declaration of war; and from the hour of Mr. Lincoln's election, Secession was "a foregone conclusion."

And still the masses of the South clung to the Union with a sort of chronic affection, hoping at least for an

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amendment to the Constitution, or the granting of a single demand—that of “equal rights in the territories ;” —in other words, the Federal protection of slaves on the common soil of the Republic. This concession, we have the authority of the leading Southern senators in Congress as late as February last for saying, would have saved the American Union, and the rivers of fraternal blood now vainly flowing to restore it ! Mr. Seward, who never believed in the possibility of the war, made about that time a pleasant and pacific speech in the Senate, in which he intimated that, in the course of two or three years, when the nation should become cool and calm, some such constitutional “amendment” might be made. But, alas, revolutions won’t wait. The “impending crisis” has come. South Carolina passes a solemn ordinance of secession, and proclaims herself free and independent of the Union. Fort Sumter is taken ; and “the star-spangled banner” yields to the Palmetto flag ! The pride and patriotism of the North are fiercely aroused ; and when President Lincoln calls for 75,000 men to defend the Capitol, twice that number spring to arms. “*Washington is in danger ; and the stars and stripes have been insulted !*” This was the battle-cry of the North. It struck a home chord in every heart, and excited the wildest belligerent enthusiasm. The bayonets of the soldiers did not stop to think. The latent love of the “banner of the free” bloomed out on every bosom, and waved from every house-top and steeple. The proud symbol was worn as an “order” in the button-holes of men, as belts and bonnet-ribbons by women, and as rosettes upon the bridles of the horses. The sailor in his “walk-a-round” caught up the stirring lyric of “Old Ironsides,”—

Nail to the mast our holy flag!  
 Long has it waved on high,  
 And many a heart has danced to see  
 That banner in the sky.

Men's eyes dilated and glittered as they recalled the souvenirs of the past, and recounted the glories of their national ensign that had so triumphantly breasted and "braved the battle and the breeze." They remembered the revolutionary struggle of its fiery birth and baptism; and how,—

When danger's troubled night was past  
 And the star of peace returned,

it rested beaming like a bow of promise upon the departing cloud of war. And they also remembered and repeated our young poet's sublime description of its lofty origin :—

When Freedom from her mountain height  
 Unfur'd her standard to the air,  
 She tore the azure robe of night,  
 And set the stars of glory there!  
 She mingled with its gorgeous dyes  
 The milky baldrick of the skies;  
 And striped its pure celestial white  
 With gleamings of the morning light!  
 Then from his mansion in the sun  
 She called her eagle-bearer down,  
 And gave into his mighty hand  
 The symbol of her native land.

\* \* \* \*

Flag of the free heart's hope and home,  
 By angel hands to valour given,  
 Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,  
 And all thy hues were born in heaven!

\* \* \* \*

The dying wanderer of the sea  
 Shall turn at once to heaven and thee,  
 And smile to see thy colours fly  
 In triumph o'er his closing eye.

Such, ladies and gentlemen, were the causes, and such was the condition of things at the North when the thunder and the throes of dissolution announced the agony of the great rupture in the harbour of Charleston. What at that moment was the state of feeling and the state of affairs in the South? At the taking of Fort Sumter, I happened to be sojourning in the city of New Orleans, where the Louisiana convention was debating the question of secession.


It is undoubtedly true that many of the leading politicians, and a majority of the slave-owners of the South, had long before come to the determination to secede from the Union on the triumph of the Republican party of the North,—a party which, although not purely Abolition, is violently opposed to the extension of slavery ; while many of its most conspicuous partisans are avowedly in favour of emancipation. But even after the secession of South Carolina, the masses of the people of the South exhibited a strong attachment for the Union—a sort of sentimental fondness for the old house in which they had lived so long and so happily. Especially in the State of Louisiana were the advocates of “reconstruction” numerous and powerful. The moment, however, that President Lincoln issued his “Proclamation of War” every sentiment of Unionism vanished, all fond regrets were given to the winds ; and the South, upon the instant, became an unit on the question of separation and resistance. From that hour to this I have not heard the first word from the lips of any Southern man or woman in favour of submission and re-union. On the contrary, there is a solemn, Spartan determination on the part of the South to spend the last dollar, and shed the last drop of blood in defending from aggression and invasion their lives and their pro-



party, their firesides and their families. Women consecrate with a sort of religious zeal their husbands, their lovers, their brothers, and their children to the cause; and strip the jewels from their fingers to contribute to the equipment and the comfort of their defenders. The Southern army is composed of all ranks, conditions, and professions of men. In many of their regiments may be seen, serving as privates, grandfather, father, and son, representing three generations of some of the oldest and wealthiest families. Probably no army ever went into the field with so large a proportion of educated, accomplished, and wealthy gentlemen. And men like these go into the contest as they would go out to single combat, feeling that not only life, but honour, is involved in the issue. Perhaps no truer conception could be formed of the state of feeling in the South than may be gathered from the assertion, that *the spirit of resistance among the whole people is up to the duelling point*. Women, priests, and bishops are enlisted in the ranks; and even the slaves beg permission of their masters to go and fight the Yankee Abolitionists! The news of the capture of Fort Sumter was received in New Orleans, and throughout the entire South, with the wildest demonstrations of delight—with the ringing of bells and firing of cannon—with “bonfires and illuminations.” And as State after State, by solemn and formal vote, seceded from the Old Union and took her place in the Southern Confederacy, there were no bounds to the birthday joy of the jubilant people. The Confederate banner was everywhere given to the breeze; and every new star added to its folds was saluted with endless huzzas and voices

That Jove's dread clamours counterfeit.

The people exulted in the rapture of a new-born liberty,



and proclaimed by every possible form of expression a new "Declaration of Independence."

The Southern Confederacy, now composed of eleven States, covering a territory of 700,000 square miles, through its Congress at Montgomery, goes to work in earnest to provide ways and means of resistance and defence against every attempt at interference or coercion on the part of the North. All hope of peace or reconciliation is past, and the argument is given to the sword. Section is arrayed against section, family against family, brother against brother. Irish, French, and German regiments are forming in the North; Irish, French, and German regiments are forming in the South. No question of race, or blood, or religion divides them. The North professes to fight for the integrity of its Government; the South for the establishment of its independence. Is it a rebellion? Is it a revolution? Are the people of the South all traitors, deserving death; or patriots struggling for freedom? The *result* of the contest will render this an easier question for the future historian to decide, than for us who are witnesses of the conflict. George Washington was the chief of rebels until he had led the American colonies through victory to independence, and commanded, not only the recognition, but the admiration of the world.

Before these swarming, hostile hosts come into collision, let us briefly glance at the different elements of the gathering armies. The North is chiefly a manufacturing and a trading people; the South almost purely an agricultural one. In consequence of the perpetual tide of European emigration, which,

Like the Propontic sea,  
Knows no returning ebb,

the North is overlaid with a deposit of the most mixed and extraordinary character. The population embraces every nation, and tribe, and kindred, and people under heaven. Political liberty, social freedom, and religious toleration, combined with the golden opportunities of rapid growth and illimitable expansion, have drawn to our Hesperian shores swarms of paupers, convicts, refugees, and adventurers of every description from all quarters of the globe ; while the right of free suffrage after a brief residence has given to this peculiar foreign element a dangerous power in the State. Unrestricted suffrage is *the* popular fallacy of the age. When Pontius Pilate gave free choice to the people, they elected Barabbas instead of Christ ; and from that day to this we have a thousand instances to disprove that fatal, fossil dogma, "The voice of the people is the voice of God !" In the American Republic our Clays, and Websters, and Crittendens have never been elected Presidents. The seceded States are comparatively free from this admixture of foreign population. Of course, it penetrates somewhat into the larger cities. In St. Louis, for instance, there is a large sprinkling of Germans ; and in New Orleans, which is a sort of miniature Paris, the French element abounds. The Irish are found more or less in every place where bricks and mortar are going up, or where railroad ties are going down. The soil of the South is almost exclusively owned by the planters, and about 400,000 white men hold about 4,000,000 of slaves. The planters are generally rich, and their sons and daughters usually receive their education in Northern schools and universities, with a "finishing touch" in Europe. In the summer season the planters with their families visit the North, or go abroad, to the average annual number of 50,000 persons,

who it has been estimated spend in their summer tours an aggregate of 50,000,000 dollars. They are generally well educated, of cosmopolitan tastes and habits, and what may be called "men of the world," the "code of honour," among gentlemen, being one of the first principles of their social creed—a short way of settling personal difficulties, which, whatever may be said against it, purifies the social atmosphere, and makes scandal-mongers of the male sex particularly scarce and cautious; and even women, as it has sometimes happened, who pervert the uses of their sweet lips to purposes not originally intended by maligning the characters of their neighbours, are held responsible for the offence through their "next friend." This makes *them* more prudent, and renders my Lady Teazle's "tea-fights" comparatively harmless. [It should be added, however, that laws against duelling exist in all the Southern States; and apologies instead of pistols, as in England, are more frequently resorted to than formerly.] The Constitution of the Southern Confederacy, it is universally conceded, is a decided improvement upon the Constitution of the United States. I will mention but two provisions, of immense practical importance—the extension of the Presidential term to six years, prohibiting a re-election; and the appointment of all Confederate officers (except Cabinet and Foreign Ministers) for life, or "during good behaviour." Here we have an effectual check upon office-seeking, the great bane of the Republic, and a measure well calculated to kill off the hordes of professional trading politicians, who, it is no injustice to say, have succeeded in breaking up the Union. Hitherto, the moment the chief magistrate has found himself comfortably seated in the "White House" he has begun to scheme for his re-election; while the hundred thousand

places in his gift (for which there are never less than a million applicants) have been bestowed, not upon men the fittest to fill them, but upon pothouse politicians who could bring most votes to the polls. And thus it is, that, by swift degrees we have become a nation of politicians, with scarcely a single statesman left—a worse condition of things than that which shocked the poor Frenchman who, after making the tour of the United States, exclaimed, “My God, what a country!—two hundred and fifty religions and only one soup!” To which a Yankee journalist retorted, “What a people are the French!—two hundred and fifty soups and no religion at all!”

With these sectional contrasts of character and condition, of which I have given hints rather than descriptions, it may be less difficult to judge of the peculiar temper of the opposing forces. And it should not be forgotten that the leaders of the Secession movement in Congress are also leaders of the Confederate army in the field; while the most notorious preachers of Abolitionism, instead of buckling on their swords, remain prudently at home in the safe protection of their pulpits and editorial sanctums.

In the pleasant and placid month of May, when God's gracious sunshine is flooding the land, melting the snowy bosom of the North, and quickening the bountiful earth into new and fruitful life; when the gentle Spring,

As she passed down the vale,  
Left her robe on the trees, and her breath on the gale;

while the soft Southern atmosphere is already redolent of orange and magnolia blossoms—a little cloud in the horizon, which at first appeared no bigger than a man's hand, suddenly overspreads the heavens like a pall, and the reign of blood and terror begins. The peaceful avoca-

tions of husbandry are abandoned ; ploughshares are beaten into swords ; pruning-hooks into spears ; and the roll of the war-drum drowns the more musical hum of industry. From Northern hills and valleys, from Southern plains and savannas, the gathering hosts are rushing to the conflict with whirlwind swiftness and fury :

They come as the winds come  
When forests are rended ;  
They come as the waves come  
When navies are stranded.

And now the long banks of the blue Potomac are lined with hostile batteries, and a cordon of opposing steel glitters from the Chesapeake to the Mississippi. The green valleys of Virginia are crimsoned with a ghastly dew, while

Brother 'gainst brother arm'd,  
Hot hatred holds !

But I will not attempt to unroll the horrible panorama of this fratricidal war—"the bloodiest picture in the Book of Time !"—a fearful scene and din of

Flame and smoke,  
And shout and groan, and sabre stroke,  
And death-shots falling thick and fast.

Neither will I undertake to recount the varying fortunes of this most unnatural conflict—a conflict in which every victory is a defeat, every gain a loss, and every sectional triumph is but a national calamity.

Mr. Russell, of the *Times*, who is unquestionably the most powerful and impartial historian of the war, when writing from his own eyesight, gives us faithful, photographic pictures of passing events ; but when writing from

mere hearsay, he is, of course, entitled only to hearsay credit. When "our special correspondent" can close his letters with the important assurance of "all of which I *saw*, and part of which I *was*," the reader may rely upon the authenticity of the record. From the columns of the London *Times*, therefore, may be gathered and sifted the fullest and most veritable history of the American war, down, as we editors say, to "the last moment before going to press." I will only add, that after seven months of skirmish, and conflict, and slaughter, there is yet no indication of peace—no reason for believing that we have even seen "the beginning of the end." Both the North and the South are astonished at their respective resources for carrying on the war; and the only hope left of a settlement of the difficulties seems to be a sort of *latent faith in mutual exhaustion*.

The North has laid great stress against the South upon the charge of stealing Federal forts, arsenals, custom-houses, &c.; to which the South replies: the old American colonies, in breaking from Great Britain, seized and appropriated all the public property belonging to the mother country, and even converted the leaden statue of King George, which stood in the "Bowling Green," in the city of New York, into bullets for the slaughter of the king's loyal subjects. And no restitution of this property was ever afterwards made! While the South proposed, in the day of final adjustment, to take an exact inventory of all the Federal property as it stood on the breaking out of the war—including lands, forts, navy yards, arsenals, custom-houses, court-houses, and mints, and to strike a just and equitable balance. They never wanted or intended to take Washington (which was entirely in their power after the battle of Bull Run), because the

aggregate of the public property in that city would make too large an item in the bill of settlement. The cost of the public buildings in the Federal capital is something enormous. But if Maryland had not been kept back by Federal bayonets, that State would have promptly joined the Confederacy ; and, of course, Virginia and Maryland would have carried the district of Columbia with them. Missouri is also kept in the union by Federal force, while her legislatures pass secession ordinances ; and Kentucky, which undertook to stand neutral, in order to avoid being the battle-ground of the war, evidently gives her heart to the South and her fears to the North. She could, doubtless, from her peculiar position,

Be happy with either,  
Were t'other dear charmer away.

The capital of the new Confederacy, by recent decree, is fixed at Nashville, Tennessee—a beautiful, young, and flourishing city, with a climate as soft and salubrious as Florence. The recognition of the South by European Powers will duplicate the number of foreign ministers to and from America ; while the Confederate Court will undoubtedly be somewhat more courtly and aristocratic than the Republican Court at Washington, of which the Illinois “rail-splitter” is the present head and ornament.

The effect of the war at home has been disastrous to all industrial interests, and to all classes of men except contractors and speculators, who are coining money, and clamouring for “a vigorous prosecution” of the contest. It has disorganised, demoralised, and divided the American people, while abroad it has deranged the diplomacy of nations, and disturbed the equilibrium of the whole commercial world.



Of the consequences of the war, socially, in the North, it is sufficient to say that a system of worse than jesuitical *espionnage* prevails; peace-advocating newspapers are suppressed; "suspected" men and women are hurried off to "the Bastile," and the most sacred right of *habeas corpus* is suspended! With these *facts* it is not difficult to imagine the effects. Hanging has not yet been introduced. It may possibly be reserved for the last act of the bloody drama; and when it once begins on either side, the price of hemp will go up! Commercially, the consequences of the war are likely to prove as disastrous abroad as at home. President Davis, in his recent brief and sententious "message," well says—"For every labourer who is diverted from the culture of cotton in the South, perhaps four times as many elsewhere, who have found subsistence in the various employments growing out of its use, will be forced also to change their occupations."

In Scotland, to-day, cotton is worth almost its weight in gold—where a single pound will spin a thread 950 miles long. In the United States they can only spin a thread of 350 miles to the pound, owing to the difference in the fineness of machinery.

A scientific professor in one of our Northern colleges, who has just returned to the United States, writes me on the eve of his departure a private letter on the Negro-Cotton Question, from which I will quote a few of his well-considered statements. I dare not give his name, lest his frankness might send him to Fort Lafayette:—

Enthusiasts who are unacquainted with the subject think that the supply of cotton can be maintained from the Eastern Continent. This is extremely doubtful. The question has been hitherto treated empirically. Agents have been sent to supposed cotton regions to institute experiments, and the French Government some

years ago had an agent cultivating a plantation near Columbia, South Carolina. This is beginning at the wrong end, and, as in the case of the Atlantic Telegraph, the men best acquainted with the subject were not employed. The problem of the production of cotton depends on scientific principles—meteorology, climate, organic and agricultural chemistry. In one locality, a particular wind, or too much moisture, may be fatal; in another, an insect may cause the bolls to fall prematurely, as in one of the Dutch East India regions. But, after science has pointed out the supposed proper region, a system of labour and transportation must be organised; and if the labour is African, *it must necessarily be compulsory*. In Demerara it was necessary to import coolies from India and China to work upon railways, whilst the country was overflowing with much better labourers, too lazy to work! What a ridiculous system of political economy is that which sends to the opposite side of the globe for an article which exists spontaneously upon the soil! As in the case of the gypsies who have been occasionally enslaved in Europe, these idlers should be forced to work, and paid a proper equivalent.

The history of the world shows that the African race has never arisen from barbarism, has never made a single discovery which has aided civilisation, and that when deprived of the supervision of a superior race, they begin to relapse. In fact, science has shown that the average black has *twelve cubic inches less* of brain than the average white brain. Should the present American war unfortunately result in the so-called freedom of the slaves, its effects will be equally fatal to Confederates and Federals. The production of cotton will fall off more rapidly than it can be supplied from other sources for *twenty years* to come, and we have not yet the data for its successful production in Asia and Africa, or for its replacement by other materials—for example, the much-lauded cottonized flax of fifteen years ago. Border States, like Pennsylvania, will object to hordes of free blacks being turned loose to prey upon them, and it is probable that, as the first year's expense to the State will exceed fifty millions of dollars, the people would prefer that the black property which has been declared "contraband of war," should be sold by the Federal Government to loyalists in the Slave States for the benefit of the treasury. By this action each able-bodied black (worth 1500 dollars), instead of being a nuisance to himself and the public, would keep one soldier in the field for a year. It may be stated that the blacks *are not citizens* under the Constitution of Pennsylvania. The people of the free States do not like the blacks when they are sufficiently numerous to be observable. Very few will sit at the same table with them, even in the humblest portion of the community, and very few will allow them to occupy the same

seat in a coach or railway carriage. Some years ago a large Abolitionist hall was burnt by a mob in Philadelphia. "Smith's Hall," a lecturing hall, owned by the blacks, was closed by the authorities, and even since the outbreak of the war, in the midst of the enthusiasm in its support, a number of blacks were driven out of the town of Marietta, Ohio, and their church burnt, for white and black do not fraternise in religion. All this has arisen from the worthlessness of the blacks, who are respected according to their industry, but who *will not work*, as a general rule, although their pay equals that of a white man for similar kind of labour.

This testimony is from a very learned and conscientious Northern gentleman, who has had abundant opportunities for observing the workings of the "peculiar institution." If the cotton of the South is permitted to remain six months longer, wasting in unginned, unbaled masses upon the plantations of the interior, waiting for foreign ships or "rebel" torches, the shuttles of Manchester will cease to frolic in their looms, and unemployed operatives, as a few years since in New York, may raise the fearful cry of "*Bread or Blood.*"

The depreciation of real estate in the city of New York alone already exceeds the present cost of the war, and the Federal tax-gatherer has not yet made his first call on the farmers of the West !

But as the severer consequences of the war are yet to come, I will not venture to estimate or depict them. McClellan and Beauregard still have the great question under discussion, and all Europe is anxiously awaiting the result of the argument which is now waged with bullet and bayonet. Having started with the promise neither to advance opinions nor utter predictions, but simply to recite facts as they have been written by the finger of Providence, I will leave conclusions to "the logic of events." Should a reconstruction of the Union take place, *the wiping out of all State lines* and the abolition of

State Legislatures will probably be one of the first conditions of the *re*-formed Republic. If, instead of States, we substitute departments, as in France, a compact and solid Republican form of Government may still render the democratic theory practicable. Congressional representation might then have a basis of equality ; a little pocket edition of a State like Rhode Island would no longer balance the Empire State of New York in the Federal Senate ; while the municipal laws would answer all the purposes of State Legislatures. Then we should hear no more of the paradoxical nonsense of State sovereignty and Federal supremacy ; there would be no more special legislation in favour of Bank and Railroad Corporations for the purpose of enriching stockholders and swindling the public ; and the Duke of Argyle's felicitous simile of the star-fish would no longer be an apposite illustration of the inevitable dismemberment of the Union.

At the bottom of all this controversy and conflict, ladies and gentlemen, lies the great and fundamental question of Government. Is it a despotism—the will of the highest and the rightest—modelled upon the Divine idea of sovereignty that controls the universe ? or is it a Republic, resting upon the will or caprice of the people ? The late lamented poet Hood summed up his theory of human government by saying “ Give us an angel from heaven and despotism ; ” and surely England to-day, under the benignant reign of her most gracious and Christian Queen, is realising the better-half of the poet's prayer.

And now, in the dark and trying hour, when a cloud of domestic sorrow hangs heavily upon her whom God elected to be the Sovereign of a great people—Prince Albert's mourning widow—now a nation's bride—I trust

there is not a single human heart in all the British empire—no, not in all Christendom—that does not beat responsive to the universal prayer,

“GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.”

THE END.



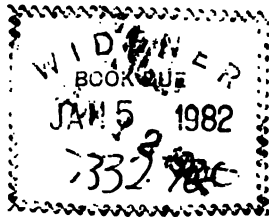


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